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# EPIGRAPHIA INDICA

Vol. XX (1929 - 30)

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# EPIGRAPHIA INDICA

AND

RECORD OF THE ARCHÆOLOGICAL SURVEY OF INDIA.

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Vol. XX. 1929-30.

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EDITED BY

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GOVERNMENT EPIGRAPHIST FOR INDIA.

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1933



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*The names of contributors are arranged alphabetically.*

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## ADDITIONS AND CORRECTIONS.

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- Page 7, l. 26.—*For Kasmīra read Kasmira.*
- „ 15, l. 7 of G.—*For Bhaṭṭidēvā read Bhaṭṭidevā.*
- „ 22, l. 26.—*For mahāvi[hā\*]re read Mahāvi[hā\*]re.*
- „ 23, l. 11.—*For Taṁbapaṁṇa read Taṁbapaṁṇi.*
- „ 32, l. 38 —*For (G. l. 12) read (H. l. 12).*
- „ 35, l. 17.—*For Aśoka read Aśōka.*
- „ „ penultimate line.—*For Chīna read Chīna.*
- „ 36, l. 17.—*For Naharāḷlabōḍu read Nāharāḷlabōḍu.*
- „ 39, l. 8.—*For he read the.*
- „ 44, f.n. 3.—*For hould read should.*
- „ 45, penultimate line in translation of Verse 1.—*For fishes (engraved) read makaras (wrough )*  
(suggested by Dr. A. Coomaraswamy.—ed.).
- „ „ 1. 2. in translation of Vv. 4-6.—*For asif read as if*
- „ „ 1. 3 „ „ V. 9.—*For coplous read copious.*
- „ 47, l. 35.—*For Parāntak n read Parāntakaṇ.*
- „ 48, l. 25.—*For latter read later.*
- „ „ 1. 36.—*For Vēlūrapālaiyam read Vēlūrpālaiyam.*
- „ „ 1. 2 of f. n. 5.—*Insert ( before Stambha).*
- „ 49, l. 6.—*Insert 4 after Aparājita.*
- „ „ f. n. 5.—*For Tillasthānam read Tillaisthānam.*
- „ 50, col. 4 in the table.—*For Prithvipati I read Prithvipati L*
- „ „ 1. 1 of f. n. 3.—*For Varaguna read Varagaṇa.*
- „ 51, penultimate line of the letterpress.—*For Iḷamperuṅgāy- read Iḷamperuṅkāy-.*
- „ 53, l. 5 of translation.—*For th esun read the sun,*
- „ „ 1. 5 of text of C.—*For 1-ppon read i-ppon.*
- „ 56, l. 29.—*For writer read writers.*
- „ 58, l. 30.—*For karamisra read karamīśra.*
- „ 61, l. 2 of f. n. 5.—*For Nātha-śarmma read Nāthaśarmma.*
- „ 63, f. n. 7.—*For mahimatām read mahimatām. \**
- „ 65, l. 10.—*For Gōvinda-Bhaṭṭa read Gōvinda-Bhaṭṭa.*
- „ 66, l. 20.—*Omit be.*
- „ „ f. n. 1.—*For Hebbal read Hebbāḷ.*
- „ „ f. n. 6.—*For elonged read belonged.*
- „ 67, text l. 24.—*For bhatta- read bhaṭṭa-.*
- „ 68, text l. 43.—*For mukkyarggaṁ read mukhyarggaṁ.*
- „ 69, f. n. 4.—*For साधयेद्विजितेन्द्रियः read साधयेद्विजितेन्द्रियः*
- „ 70, l. 2 of translation of Ll. 46-48.—*For Vāraṇāsi read Vāraṇāsī.*
- „ 79, text line 6.—*For Rāja-s[u]ya[m] read Rājas[ū]ya[m].*
- „ 83, l. 2.—*For Kaliṅgapatanam read Kaliṅgapātanam.*
- „ 86, l. n. 5 l. 3.—*For Bhaṭṭoji read Bhaṭṭōji.*
- „ 87, f. n. 11.—*For Fori nstance read For instance.*

- Page 88, f. n. 6.—*For* D. P. J. *read* K. P. J.
- „ 89, l. 5 of translation of l. 15.—*For* **Sindhulā** *read* **Sindhulā**.
- „ 90, f. n. 2.—*For* Viramitrōdaya *read* Viramitrōdaya.
- „ 91, l. 6.—*For* Yaśōdharachariyā *read* Yaśōdharachariya.
- „ 92, l. 16.—*For* Girnar *read* Gīrnār.
- „ 95, translation of Ll. 19 ff.—*For* Paramēśvara *read* Rājaparamēśvara.
- „ 96, „ 28 ff.—*For* Kāṇūr- *read* Kāṇūr-.
- „ 97, l. 2.—*Insert* a comma *after* Saṁkara-setṭi.
- „ 99, text l. 7.—*For* अष्टादशवे° *read* अष्टादशवे(वे)°.
- „ „ text l. 11.—*For* देवुवके *read* देवुवक
- „ 102, text l. 25.—*For* Dakhi(kshi)ṇa-pa(pā)li- *read* Dakhi(kshi)ṇapa(pā)li-.
- „ 103, text l. 41.—*For* Bhu(Bhū)mi -*read* bhu(bhū)mi-.
- „ „ text l. 42.—*For* -saṁkā *read* -śaṁkā.
- „ 104, text l. 45.—*For* Hara[n\*]= *read* hara[n\*]=.
- „ „ f. n. 13.—*For* utkirṇṇañ° *read* utkirṇṇañ°.
- „ 110, l. 5.—*For* Yogēśvara- *read* Yōgēśvara-.
- „ 112, l. 32.—*For* Vira-Pāṇḍya *read* Vira-Pāṇḍya.

# EPIGRAPHIA INDICA.

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## VOLUME XX.

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### 1.—PRAKRIT INSCRIPTIONS FROM A BUDDHIST SITE AT NAGARJUNIKONDA.

BY PROFESSOR J. PH. VOGEL, PH. D., LEIDEN.

In March 1926 Mr. A. R. Sarasvati, Telugu Assistant in the office of the Assistant Archaeological Superintendent for Epigraphy at Madras, made a discovery of great interest at the hill of Nāgārjunikoṇḍa which belongs to the Palnāḥ *taluk* of the Guṇṭūr district of the Madras Presidency.<sup>1</sup> The hill, which is described as a big flat-topped hill some 200 acres in extent, overhangs the right bank of the river Kistna or Kṛishṇā, the Kaṇṇapennā or Kaṇṇavaṇṇā (Skt. *Kṛishṇavarṇā*) of Pali literature, at a distance of some 15 miles from Mācherla and on the border of the Nizam's Dominions. The top of the hill shows traces of fortifications, now in ruins. The find of a Buddhist sculpture led to the discovery of three vast mounds of large bricks in different parts of the valley, each, apparently, marking the site of a *stūpa*. In the vicinity of these mounds marble pillars were found, some of them standing erect in rows. Several more were reported to lie scattered in the neighbouring villages and on the other side of the river. Among the pillars left on the site there were three, one on each mound, bearing inscriptions in Prakrit and in Brāhmī characters.

At the request of Dr. Hīrānanda Śāstrī, Government Epigraphist, I undertook to edit the inscriptions in the *Epigraphia Indica*. A set of excellent estampages prepared under instructions from that officer, reached me in September 1926; but it was not until the end of that year that I could find the necessary leisure to decipher and study them. Early in March 1927, Dr. Hīrānanda Śāstrī informed me that trial excavations carried out on the site of Nāgārjunikoṇḍa by Mr. Hamid Kuraishi, then officiating as Superintendent of Archaeology in the Southern Circle, had yielded no less than eighteen more inscriptions and that their estampages would be sent to my address, in case I should be willing to edit them. I gladly consented to undertake this laborious but attractive task. As, however, there was a likelihood of the recently discovered inscriptions being of some help in elucidating doubtful points in those found previously, I suggested that the epigraphical finds of Nāgārjunikoṇḍa might be best dealt with in one article. Dr. Hīrānanda Śāstrī accepted this proposal and in October 1927 supplied me with a complete set of estampages admirably executed.

During the cold season of 1927-28 the excavations at Nāgārjunikoṇḍa were continued under the supervision of Mr. A. H. Longhurst, Superintendent of the Archaeological Survey, Southern Circle. These explorations have resulted in the discovery of a number of very remarkable Buddhist sculptures, some of them bearing inscriptions. The style which they exhibit is clearly that of

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<sup>1</sup> A preliminary account of the discovery will be found in the *Annual Report on South-Indian Epigraphy for the year ending 31st March 1926*, Madras, pp. 4 and 92 f. Cf. also *Annual Bibliography of Indian Archaeology for the year 1926*, Leyden, 1928, pp. 14-16.

Amarāvati, although perhaps they cannot boast of the high artistic merit which we admire in the best work from that place. Among the sculptural decoration of the two pillars discovered by Mr. Longhurst there are figures which clearly betray Roman influence. The full report of his excavations will be received with the greatest interest. There cannot be the slightest doubt that Nāgārjunikoṇḍa represents, next to Amarāvati, the most important Buddhist site hitherto found in Southern India. The results which Amarāvati might have yielded have, for a large part, been irreparably lost owing to the deplorable vandalism perpetrated on that monument more than a century ago. It is all the more gratifying that the site of Nāgārjunikoṇḍa is now being systematically explored so that no piece of evidence is likely to be overlooked. Mr. Longhurst estimates that the complete excavation of the site will require three years more.

When in February 1882 Dr. Burgess excavated the site of the Jaggayyapeta *stūpa*, on the Pālēr river, a tributary of the Kṛishṇā and about four miles north of their junction, he chanced upon three inscribed pillars, bearing each an identical dedicatory inscription in Prakrit.<sup>1</sup> These epigraphs record the gift of five *āyaka-khaṁbhas* at the eastern gate of the Mahāchetiya or Great Chaitya by a certain artisan (*āresani*) Siddhattha in the twentieth year of King Māḍhariputa Sirī-Virapurisadatta of the Ikḥāku dynasty. The corresponding form in Sanskrit would be Māḍhariputra Śrī-Virapurushadatta. Dr. Burgess expressed the opinion that the Jaggayyapeta inscriptions "belong to about the third or fourth century A.D., but are possibly earlier." Dr. Bühler<sup>2</sup>, while editing them, placed the reign of King Purisadatta in the third century of our era, and "before the accession of the Pallavas to the throne of Veṅgi."

The position of such *āyaka*-pillars on the monument to which they once have belonged becomes perfectly clear from the *chaitya*-slabs which have been found in such remarkable numbers on the site of Amarāvati. These *chaitya*-slabs exhibit the effigy in relief of a *chaitya* or *stūpa* in all its details, in other words, they represent the great monument which they once adorned. Now, one of the most prominent features of the main edifice—a feature not met with, as far as we are aware, in other parts of India—is a row of five columns surmounting a kind of projecting balcony which seems to form part of the procession-path running around the body of the monument. These pillars invariably occupy a position right opposite the entrances to the sacred enclosure, and as the stone railing surrounding the sanctuary has an entrance on each of the four cardinal points, it follows that the monument, when entire, must have had four sets of such pillars. They do not appear to have had any structural function as supporting members, but, besides carrying well-known Buddhist emblems, they were utilised for dedicatory inscriptions, as have been noticed at Jaggayyapeta. The word *āyaka-khaṁbha* mentioned in these epigraphs is evidently the technical term by which they were known<sup>3</sup>.

There can be little doubt that the great *stūpa* of Amarāvati, when entire, was decorated with such pillars, but only a few fragments have been recovered.<sup>4</sup> In the case of the monument of

<sup>1</sup> J. Burgess, *The Buddhist Stupas of Amaravati and Jaggayyapeta*; London, 1887, pp. 110 f., plates LXII and LXIII. Cf. H. Lüders, *List of Brahmi Inscriptions*, Nos. 1202-1204 (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. X, app., pp. 139 f.); G. Bühler, *Indische Palaeographie*, p. 44.

<sup>2</sup> *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XI (1882), pp. 256 ff.

<sup>3</sup> The word *āyaka* occurs also in the compounds *dakṣiṇ-āyaka* (Burgess, *Amaravati, etc.*, p. 86, pl. LX, no. 47) and *utār-āyaka* (*ibidem*, p. 93), which have been rendered "the south entrance" and "the northern gate". It is questionable whether this translation is correct. The word "gate" is rendered by *dāra* (Skt. *dvāra*). Most probably the word *āyaka* indicates that part of the monument where the *āyaka-khaṁbhas* were placed.

<sup>4</sup> Burgess, *op. cit.*, pl. XLV, 1-4. The finest specimen is the square lower end of a pillar decorated on the four sides with as many Buddhist symbols—a *stūpa*, a *bōdhi*-tree, a *chaitya*-hall, and a wheel. There is an inscription in four lines beneath the figure of the *stūpa* (pl. LX, no. 47) in which the pillar is called *chetiya-kha* [m]-*bho* *sadhādūko*.

Jaggayyapeta three inscribed specimens were found, only one of them being complete. These, as we have seen, must have belonged to a set of five such pillars which were placed on the east side. Dr. Burgess noticed large pillars or stelæ at three of the sides of the *stūpa*, but it would seem that those found on the other sides were uninscribed.

The explorations at Nāgārjunikoṇḍa have brought to light no less than seventeen specimens of *āyaka*-pillars, all inscribed. In thirteen cases the inscription is complete or nearly so. The technical execution of these epigraphs is as remarkable as the state of their preservation. Evidently, these pillars once served the purpose of adorning the main monument of the site, mentioned in the inscriptions under the name of Mahāchetiya (Skt. *Mahāchaitya*), i.e., the Great Chaitya. It is clear that here, too, there must have stood a row of five such pillars at each of the four cardinal points, their total number being twenty. The original position which each of the seventeen columns so far recovered once occupied, could still be ascertained. A complete list of the inscriptions will be given below.

The mound which covered the ruins of the Mahāchetiya is nowadays known by the name of Nibaguṭṭa. Close to the east side of the great monument the excavations revealed the remains of an apsidal temple containing a small *chaitya* as an object of worship. The floor of this shrine retains the record of its foundation in an inscription (E) of two very long lines, remarkably well preserved.

At a distance of about a furlong to the east of the Great Chaitya there is another mound called Nāharāḷlabōḍu. According to Mr. Longhurst, this site contains the most important group of monastic buildings, including a large monastery built of brick and plaster, and the remains of two *stūpas*. At the side of the former building were found the remnants of another apsidal shrine or *chaitya*-hall. Here, too, a long inscription (F), incised on the floor of the temple, was found to be the record of its foundation.

There is a third mound known by the name of Itikarāḷlabōḍu to the north-west of the Great Chaitya and at a distance of about two furlongs from it. Here a number of stone pillars, apparently still occupying their original position, indicate the existence of another ancient building. From the inscription (G) found on one of these pillars (this inscription is one of the three recovered in March 1926), it appears that the edifice in question was a *vihāra* somewhat later in date than the buildings previously noticed. If this conclusion is correct, the stone pillars may have formed part of the verandah enclosing the central court-yard of the convent.

A third *vihāra* must have stood in a locality now known as Koṭṭampalugu to the north of Nāgārjunikoṇḍa. Here, too, the record of its foundation is inscribed on a stone pillar. The inscription (H), which is one of the three copied in March 1926, is probably the latest in date, the writing being smaller and less distinct than in the case of the earlier inscriptions.

The Jaggayyapeta inscriptions, as we have noted above, are dated in the twentieth year of the reign of a king who calls himself Māḍhariputa Ikhākunaṁ Siri-Virapurisadata. The epigraphical records now recovered on the Buddhist site of Nāgārjunikoṇḍa refer to the same Ikhāku dynasty of Southern India. They mention not only Māḍhariputa Siri-Virapurisadata,<sup>1</sup> in whose reign the principal sanctuaries of this locality were founded, but also his father, Vāsethiputa Siri-Chāmtamūla, and his son and successor Vāsethiputa Siri-Ehuvuḷa-Chātamūla.<sup>2</sup> In a passage which occurs in several of the inscriptions, the former is eulogized as a performer of the

<sup>1</sup> This is the usual spelling of the name. The more correct form Siri-Virapurisadata occurs in inscr. G.

<sup>2</sup> It is somewhat difficult to decide whether Chāmtamūla or Chātamūla is the correct form of these two names. In some cases there appears to be the sign of the *anusvāra* over the *ā*. We may, therefore, assume, that elsewhere it has been omitted by mistake.



Vedic sacrifices Agnihōtra, Agnishtōma, Vājapēya and Aśvamēdha. It follows that Siri-Chāntamūla was a devotee of Brahmanism. His son, Siri-Virapurisadata, though partaking in the religious merit, does not seem to have had an active part in the foundation of the religious monuments of Nāgārjunikoṇḍa. They owed their existence to the piety of certain queens and princesses belonging to the royal house of Ikshāku and evidently devotees of the Buddhist faith.

The principal founder was a lady called Chāntisiri <sup>1</sup> (\*siriṇikā in inscr. B 3) who is praised for her munificence in a passage which recurs in not less than nine of the *āyaka*-pillar inscriptions. In these inscriptions she is called the uterine sister of Siri-Chāntamūla and the paternal aunt of Siri-Virapurisadata. She was married to the *Mahāsēnāpati*, the *Mahātālavara* Vāsithīputa Kāṁdasiri of the Pūkiya <sup>2</sup> family, and, in consequence, she herself bears the title of *Mahātālavarī*. Moreover, she is called the mother of Kāṁdasāgaramnaka. In one of the pillar inscriptions (B 5) it is distinctly stated that it was she who erected the Great Chaitya of the Great *Vihāra* or Monastery. It is curious that here the instrumental plural (*mahātālavarīhi* . . . . *Chāntisiriṇikāhi*) is employed, but it will be noted that several ladies of that name took part in the donation. Or, can it be a *pluralis majestatis*? The date regularly found at the end of the pillar inscriptions—the sixth year of Siri-Virapurisadata, the sixth fortnight of the rainy season, the tenth day—marks, no doubt, the time when the great monument was consecrated. Chāntisiri was, moreover, the foundress of the apsidal shrine (No. I), built opposite the eastern or principal side of the Great Chaitya. <sup>3</sup> This is distinctly stated in the long inscription (E) cut on the floor of that building. In this document the edifice founded by Chāntisiri is designated first as a *chētiya-ghara*, and subsequently as a stone *maṇḍapa* surrounded by a cloister (*chatusāla-parigahitaṁ sela-maṇḍaram*). <sup>4</sup> The building was dedicated to the *āchāryas* of the Aparamahāvinaseliya sect. The time of the dedication is expressed by the date found at the end of the inscription—the eighteenth year of Siri-Virapurisadata, the sixth fortnight of winter, the fifth day. The date is given both in words and in figures.

It deserves notice that in the earlier inscriptions Chāntisiri is called the paternal aunt (*pituchhā*) <sup>5</sup> of the reigning king, whereas in the later inscription (E), noted above, she refers to the king as her son-in-law. It would seem that Siri-Virapurisadata between the 6th and the 18th years of his reign had married the daughter of his aunt and consequently his cousin.

Two of the pillar inscriptions (C 2 and 4) mention another sister (*sōlarā bhaginī*) of King Siri-Chāntamūla, whose name was Hāmmasiri or Hāmmasiriṇikā, and two of her daughters named Bapisiriṇikā and Chhaṭhisiri. Both these princesses were married to the reigning king, their cousin, and consequently bear the title of *Mahādēvī*.

The same title of *Mahādēvī* is borne by a lady, Rudradharabhaṭārikā, whose name occurs in the inscription on the fifth pillar of the southern row (B 5). It may be concluded that she, too, was a consort of the reigning king, though in the inscription she is not expressly designated as such. She appears to have been a princess from Ujjain (Skt. Ujjayinī), the well known town in Central India, if at least we are justified in correcting the reading *Ujanikā mahārabalīkā* of the text into *Ujenikū mahārāja-bālīkā*. Among the rulers of the house of Chashtana, the so-called Western Kshatrapas, whose capital was Ujjain, we find a certain preference for personal names containing the name of the god Rudra, such as Rudradāman, Rudrasēna and Rudrasimha. This renders it

<sup>1</sup> Here, too, there prevails some uncertainty whether the name is Chāntisiri or Chāntisiri.

<sup>2</sup> Inscr. E has *Pūgiya*.

<sup>3</sup> The eastern side being the principal side of the Great Chaitya, it is significant that the three *āyaka*-pillars recovered on that side of the monument were all dedicated by Chāntisiri.

<sup>4</sup> In Sanskrit: *chatusāla-parigrihitam śāla-maṇḍapam*.

<sup>5</sup> Pali *pituchhā*.

all the more plausible to assume that the Queen Rudradharabhaṭārikā mentioned in the inscription belonged to that illustrious house.

The pillar inscriptions acquaint us with three more noble ladies who were associated with Chāmtisiri in her pious foundation. The one mentioned on the second pillar of the south side (B 2) is called Aḍavi (?)—Chā[m]tisiri. The inscription calls her the daughter of King Siri-Chāntamūla, the sister of King Siri-Virapurisadata, and the wife of the *Mahāsēnāpati Mahātālavara Mahādaṇḍanāyaka Khamdavisākhamāka* (= Skt. Skandaviśākha) of the house of the Dhanakas. She herself is distinguished by the title of *Mahātālavarī*.

The other lady, who was the donor of the fourth pillar of the southern row (B 4), is called Chula-Chā[m]tisiriṇikā, i.e., Chā[m]tisiriṇikā the Less or the Younger, the adjective *chula* evidently being added to distinguish her from her namesake, the foundress of the Mahāchetiya. The junior Chā[m]tisiriṇikā, as stated in the inscription, was a daughter of the Kulahakas and the spouse of the *Mahāsēnāpati Mahātālavara Vāsithīputa Khamdachalikireṇmaṇaka* of the Hiramānakas. She herself bears the title of *Mahāsēnāpatinī*.

The fifth pillar of the western side (C 5) was dedicated by a lady whose personal name is not mentioned, but who is called the wife of the *Mahāsēnāpati Mahātālavara Vāsithīputa Mahākaṇḍasiri* of the Pūkiyas and the mother of the *Mahāsēnāpati Mahātālavara Viṇḥusiri* (=Skt. Viṣṇuśrī). She is, moreover, distinguished by the title *Mahātālavarī*. If we may assume that Mahākaṇḍasiri and Kaṇḍasiri are one and the same person, it would follow that the anonymous lady of the pillar-inscription C 5 was a co-wife (*supatṇī*) of Chāmtisiri.

We must now consider the two separate pillar-inscriptions G and H which, as we have noted above, must belong to a somewhat later date. The inscription G is found on one among a number of pillars, decorated with lotus-rosettes, which were found standing about two furlongs to the north-west of the Mahāchetiya. Mr. Longhurst informs me that the tops of these pillars are each provided with a mortice evidently meant to receive the beams of a wooden roof. This would well agree with our supposition that these stone columns once belonged to the verandah enclosing the central court of the *vihāra*. The inscribed stone shows several cracks running through the inscribed surface and the letters are worn owing to exposure.

The inscription records the foundation of a *vihāra* by *Mahādēvī Bhaṭidevā* who is called the daughter-in-law of Siri-Chā[m]tamūla, the wife (?) of Siri-Virapurisadata, and the mother of a *Mahārāja*, whose name appears to be Siri-Ehuvuḷa-Chātamūla. The three syllables which we read—*huvuḷa*—are uncertain. The same is the case with the one or two initial syllables of the word following the name Siri-Virapurisadata, so that it is doubtful what relation existed between that king and the lady Bhaṭidevā. The word in question, however, can be hardly anything but *bhayāya*. Thus it would follow that Bhaṭidevā was the consort of the king. The last two lines of the document seem to have contained a date, but unfortunately this part of the inscription has been obliterated to such an extent that our reading must be regarded as conjectural. Evidently the *vihāra* was founded during the reign of Bhaṭidevā's son, the *Mahārāja* whose name is mentioned in the inscription.

The inscribed pillar of Kottāmpalugu is also the foundation record of a *vihāra*. The foundress was a *Mahādēvī* who was the granddaughter of Siri-Chā[m]tamūla, the daughter of Siri-Virapurisadata, and the sister of *Mahārāja Vāsethīputa Siri-Ehuvuḷa-Chā[m]tamūla*. It is, moreover, stated in the inscription that she was the consort of the *Mahārāja* of Vanavāsa. Her personal name is somewhat indistinct but may be read as Kodabalisiri. It will be noted in the sequel that Vanavāsa, the ancient name of North Kanara, occurs also among the countries which in the *chaitya*-inscription F are stated to have been converted to Buddhism by the Ceylonese monks.

The pillar inscription of Kottampalugu is dated in the eleventh year of the reign of Siri-Ehuvula-Chāṁtamūla.

The historical information furnished by these inscriptions regarding the three rulers of the Southern Ikhāku dynasty, whom they mention, is very meagre. Siri-Chāṁtamūla is extolled in a passage which recurs in several of the inscriptions but which appears to be entirely conventional. It has been pointed out above that the king must have been an adept of Brahmanism. From the expression *Virūpakhapati-Mahāsena-parigahitasa*, which is applied to Chāṁtamūla, it may perhaps be concluded that he was a votary of the god Mahāsena or Skanda, "the lord of the Virūpakhas". The term Virūpakha (=Skt. *Virūpāksha*) seems to be used here to indicate the hosts of which Skanda is the lord and leader.<sup>1</sup> Dr. Bühler's assumption, based on palaeographical evidence, that Siri-Virapurisadata flourished in the third century of our era, may be accepted as probably correct.

Although the inscriptions tell us nothing about the *faits et gestes* of these kings, it is interesting to meet with a line of rulers, settled in the Telugu country, which claimed descent from Ikhāku, i.e., Ikkhāku (=Skt. *Ikshvāku*), the mythical progenitor of the famous Solar dynasty of Ayōdhya. It is well known that not only Rāma belonged to that illustrious house, but the Buddha, too, is called a scion of the race of Ikshvāku (Pali *Okkāka*). It is clear, in any case, that these Southern Ikhākus were rulers of some importance, as they formed matrimonial alliances not only with the *Mahārājas* of Vanavāsa, but also with the kings, presumably the descendants of the Satrap Chashṭana, who resided at Ujjayini in Central India. The nomenclature of these Southern Ikhāku kings, coupling their personal names with metonymics like Māḍhariputa and Vāsīthiputa seems to be a practice borrowed from the earlier rulers of the Āndhra dynasty. It will hardly be necessary to quote the instance of Vāsīthiputa Siri-Puḷumāyi and Gotamiputa Sātakaṇṇi. On the other hand, there are in these inscriptions certain expressions which are also found in the Prakrit copper-plate grants of the early Pallavas, as will be pointed out in our glossary.

There are two more points to be noted in connection with these kings. We see that the name Chāṁtamūla, borne by the father of Siri-Virapurisadata, re-occurs in the name of the latter's son. This seems to point to the custom of naming a child after its grandfather, which, as far as we are aware, is not an indigenous practice in India.<sup>2</sup> It further deserves notice that among the consorts of king Siri-Virapurisadata we meet with two of his cousins.

Chāṁtisiri, the sister of king Chāṁtamūla, was married to a personage who bore the titles of *Mahāsēnāpati* and *Mahātālavara*. The same is stated with reference to other princesses of the ruling house. The title *Mahāsēnāpati* (lit. "great chief of the army" or general) denoted feudatory chieftains in charge of *rāshṭras* or districts under the Āndhras, and the same meaning may perhaps be assumed here. The word is, therefore, to be taken as a title of nobility. We may compare the Anglo-Saxon *heretoga* (Dutch *herzog*, German *herzog*), which etymologically means an army-leader, but has become a title of nobility. The word *mahāsēnāpati* could, therefore, be best rendered by "duke."

The curious term *mahātālavara* which is also met with in other inscriptions of Southern India, must likewise denote a high dignitary whose exact function, however, is not clear. The second member of the compound is not a Sanskrit word, but seems to be a term borrowed from some

<sup>1</sup> The word *Virūpakha* (=Skt. *Virūpāksha*), indicating a class of snakes, occurs in an ancient snake-charm, *Vinaya Piṭakam* (ed. Oldenberg), Vol. II, p. 110; *S. B. E.*, Vol. XX, p. 76.

<sup>2</sup> [This custom was known to several ruling families of ancient India, such as the Guptas, the Vākāṭakas, the Chālukyas and the Pallavas. (Cf. V. Smith, *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XXXV, p. 125). Besides, as shown by the *Mahābhārata*, I. i. 1. ...*विपुलवर्धनः...* *आन कृतं पुत्रान्* and Kaiyyasa on it "विना तस्य ये नवः पुत्राश्चानुवाचवन्निघते", it had a śāstric sanction behind it.—Ed.]

Dravidian language.<sup>1</sup> Evidently it penetrated also into Northern India, for there can be little doubt that it is identical with the mysterious word *taravara* which, coupled with *mahāpatihāra* (=“a great chamberlain”) is found in the legend of one of the clay sealings excavated by the late Dr. Bloch at Basārḥ, the site of ancient Vaiśālī. This document belongs to the Gupta period. It was suggested by Dr. Bloch that the word *tarika*, which occurs in lists of officials in mediæval copper-plate charters, may quite well be a corrupted form of *taravara*.<sup>2</sup>

In the inscriptions of Nāgārjunikoṇḍa not only frequent mention is made of persons bearing the title of *mahātalavara*, but they also contain the feminine form *mahātalavari* (more correctly *talavari*) indicating the wife of a *mahātalavara*. In the same way the consort of a *mahāsēnāpati* bears herself the title of *mahāsēnāpatinī* (Skt. *sēnāpatnī*). It is found in B 4 (1.5).

A third official title, which occurs in B 2 (1.4), is the well-known term *mahādandanāyaka*. The early use of this expression is also attested by a fragmentary inscription, found at the village of Māt in the Mathurā district, which contains the name of King Huvishka.

The first apsidal shrine (No. I), as we have seen, was dedicated by Chāṇṭisiri, the foundress of the Mahāchetiya, at the foot of which it is built. The other building of this type, on the contrary, as stated in the inscription F on the floor, was raised by a simple *upāsikā*, Bodhisiri by name, who does not appear to have been related to the royal family of the Ikshvākus. Her relatives, who were to share in the merit of her pious enterprise, are enumerated at great length. They include a *Koṭh[ā]kārīka* (Skt. *Koṣṭhāgārīka*), either a treasurer or, perhaps, a superintendent of a royal store-house.<sup>3</sup>

The inscription opens with an invocation of the Buddha who is extolled in a long string of laudatory epithets. Next comes the date which unfortunately is incomplete. This much is certain that the inscription is dated in the fourteenth regnal year of a king Mādhariputa, who in all likelihood is identical with the Mādhariputa Siri-Virapurisadata of the *āyaka*-pillar inscriptions of Jaggayyapeta and Nāgārjunikoṇḍa. The shrine is further stated to have been dedicated to the fraternities of Ceylonese monks who had converted Kasmīra (Kashmir), Gandhāra, China, Chīlāta (=Skt. Kīrātā), Tosali, Avarānta (=Skt. Aparānta), Vamga (i.e., Bengal), Vanavāsi (i.e., North Kanara), Yavana (?), Damila (?), . . . lūra and the Isle of Tambapamṇi (i.e., Ceylon). Some of the countries are mentioned in the *Mahāvamsa* among the territories which had been converted to Buddhism after the Third Council, namely, Kasmīra and Gandhāra, Vanavāsa, Aparantaka and Yona.<sup>4</sup> We may also compare two passages in the *Milindapañha* mentioning a number of

<sup>1</sup>At the end of the Koṇḍamuḍi copper-plate grant (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VI, pp. 315 ff.) the late Dr. Hultzsch read *Mahātagi-varena mahādandanāyakena Bhāpahanavammēna kaṭati*. There can be little doubt that *mahātagivarena* is a mistake, due either to the scribe or to the engraver, for *mahātalavarena*. This term occurs also in a fragmentary Prakrit inscription found at the village of Allūru, in the Nandigāma taluk, Kistna district. Cf. *Annual Report on South-Indian Epigraphy*, 1924, p. 97 and *A. S. R.* for 1923-24, p. 93.

We must leave this question to the decision of students of South-Indian languages. Can the word have any connection with Tamil *talavāy* (=a general), Tamil *talaiyāri* (=a village watchman), or Canarese *talavara*, *talavāra* (=a watchman, a beadle)? [The Mahātalavaras are mentioned in early Jaina literature along with 18 Gaṇarājās. So Mahātalavara must be taken as a title of nobility. Cf. *Kalpasūtra* (ed. Jacobi, Leipzig 1879) 61, ll. 21-25. The *Subhāṣikā*, a Sanskrit commentary on it by Vinayavijaya (Nirṇaya-sāgara Press, Bombay, leaf 60, ll. 6-7) explains the term *talavara* thus: *talavarāḥ tuskā-bhūpāla-pradatta-paṭṭabandha-vibhūṣitā Rājasthānīyāḥ*. In the Punjab there is a sub-division of high class Khatrias (=Sanskrit *Kshatriyas*) which goes by the name of Tālwar.—Ed.]

<sup>2</sup> *A. S. R.* for 1903-04, p. 108, No. 16; plate XL, 6.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. *koṭhāgala* in Sohagaura copper-plate inscription (Lüders, *List*, No. 937) and *bhāṇḍākārīka* in Nāsik inscription (Lüders, *List*, No. 1141).

<sup>4</sup> *Mahāvamsa*, Ch. xii. Cf. *Dīpavamsa*, Ch. viii

regions which used to be visited for purposes of trade.<sup>1</sup> In these two passages the first countries mentioned are Saka-Yavana and China-Chilāta. The printed text has Vilāta, but, as has been pointed out by Professor Sylvain Lévi,<sup>2</sup> this is an error for Chilāta. The Chilātas are the same un-Aryan tribe often met with in Sanskrit literature under the name of Kirāta. In a well-known verse of the *Pañchatantra* they are characterized as dishonest traders. We find them, moreover, referred to both in the *Periplus* and by Ptolemy. The former says: "Beyond this [Dōsarēnē], the course trending towards the north there are many barbarous tribes, among whom are the Cirrhadae, a race of men with flattened noses, very savage." Ptolemy locates them along the Gulf of Bengal, "beyond the Ganges mouth called Antibolei." Their country is said to produce the best *malabathron* (*tamālapatram*). In his chapter on Trans-Gangetic India (VII, 2, 15) the same author describes the Tilādai (V. 1. Pilādai), also called the Saesādai, as hairy dwarfs, with a flat face and a white skin. Evidently this passage too refers to the Kirātas, the name Tilādai (Τιλάδαι) being an attempt to render in Greek the alternative form Chilāda.<sup>3</sup>

It is very interesting to meet here with the name Tosali. It will be remembered that Aśōka's two separate Rock-Edicts of Dhauli are addressed to the Governor and the magistrates (*Mahāmātras*) of Tosali. This enables us to locate Tosali in Kalinga. James Prinsep identified it with the "Tosalei metropolis" of Ptolemy, although this place is located in the regions beyond the Ganges. We may, perhaps, connect the name Tosali with the Dōsara of Ptolemy and with Dōsarēnē, the name of a country beyond Masalia mentioned in the *Periplus*. The name Dōsarēnē is usually explained to be the Greek rendering of Sanskrit Daśārṇa,<sup>4</sup> but there are serious difficulties in the way of this identification. First of all, a Prakrit form of Daśārṇa, from which the Greek form must be derived, would certainly not have retained the *r* which we find in Dōsara and Dōsarēnē. The long *ō*-vowel of the Greek would also be difficult to account for. Besides, the tribe of the Daśārṇa, as far as we can make out from Indian sources, appears to have been settled in Central India and not along the coast.<sup>5</sup> On the other hand, Dōsara may have been a dialectic form of Tosala. The *Periplus* states that Dōsarēnē yielded the ivory known as Dōsarēnic. Hiuen Tsiang in his account of Kalinga says that it produced the great tawny wild elephant which was much prized by neighbouring provinces.

Avaranta (Skt. Aparānta) is the designation of the tract of the country lying along the western coast of the Peninsula, the capital of which was Sopārā. According to the Ceylonese Chronicles, it was converted to Buddhism by Dhammarakkhita. Aśōka mentions it in his Fifth Rock-Edict in connection with the appointment of Dhamma-mahāmātas.

Vaṅga is the ancient name of Bengal. Vanavāsi, also mentioned as Vanavāsaka in inscription H, is North Kanara, the name being still preserved in Banavāsi, a village or small town in the Shimoga district of the Mysore State in latitude 14° 33', longitude 75° 5'. The *Mahāvamsa* mentions Rakkhita as the apostle of Vanavāsa.

The three words following Vanavāsi are uncertain. The first one can be hardly anything but Yavana, the *aksharas ya* and *va* being still legible. Next comes a name which I read tentatively as Damila, meaning the Tamil country. The third word seems to consist of three *aksharas*, the second and third of which are clearly *lu* and *ra*. It is tempting to restore the name as Palura, the town mentioned by Ptolemy and identified by Professor Sylvain Lévi with Dantapura, "the Town of the Tooth" on the coast of Orissa.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Māhābhārata* (ed. Trenckner), pp. 327 and 331.

<sup>2</sup> *Études Asiatiques*, Vol. II, p. 24.

<sup>3</sup> Sylvain Lévi, *op. cit.*, pp. 23-24. Cf. *Bijdragen*, sixth series, Vol. VI, p. 7, no. 2.

<sup>4</sup> *Periplus*, transl. by W. H. Schoff, p. 253, and N. L. Dey, *Geogr. Dict.*, 2nd ed., 1927, p. 54, s. v. *Daśārṇa*.

<sup>5</sup> Kāśīdāsa in his *Meghadūta* locates the Daśārṇas between the Vindhya and Vidiśā.

<sup>6</sup> *Journal Asiatique*, Vol. CCVI (1925), pp. 46ff.; and *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. LV (1926), pp. 94ff.

The latter part of inscription F enumerates the various pious foundations—several of them evidently additions to existing buildings—dedicated by Bodhisiri, and mentions, moreover, the localities at which each of them was found. It is a point of considerable importance that this list includes “a stone *maṇḍapa* at the eastern gate of the Mahāchetiya at Kaṇṭakasela.” Evidently this locality Kaṇṭakasela (Skt. *Kaṇṭakasāla*, lit. “Thorn-hill”) must be identical with “the emporium Kantikossūla” which Ptolemy mentions (VII, i. 15) immediately after “the mouths of the Maisōlos.” It follows that the river known to the Greeks under the name Maisōlos has been rightly supposed to be the Kistna.<sup>1</sup> The country watered by the lower Kistna is consequently called Maisōlia by Ptolemy. The *Periplus* speaks (§62) of “the region of Masalia stretching a great way along the coast before the inland country,” and adds that “a great quantity of muslins is made here.” The ancient name by which this part of Southern India was known to the Greeks is preserved in that of the town Masulipatam.

We are perhaps justified in identifying it with the country which Hiuen Tsiang describes under the name of T'o-na-kie-tse-kia.<sup>2</sup> This seems to correspond to Dhaññakataka, Dhana-kataka (Skt. Dhānyakataka), found in two inscriptions from Amarāvati.<sup>3</sup> The country in question the Chinese pilgrim locates between the Āndhra country and that of the Chōlas, the latter being situated at a distance of some 1,000 *li* to the south-west. In the course of his description he says: “The convents are numerous, but are mostly deserted and ruined; of those preserved there are about twenty with 1,000 or so priests. They all study the law of the Great Vehicle.”

Hiuen Tsiang further relates that to the east of the capital on a mountain there stood a convent called Pūrvaśilā and on a mountain to the west was another, called Avaraśilā. Perhaps it would be preferable to render the names of these two monasteries by Pūrvaśaila and Avaraśaila, the Sanskrit word for a mountain being *śaila*, whereas *śilā* means “stone.” Now, it is worthy of note that among the localities mentioned in inscription F, we meet with the name Puvasela, which is clearly a Prakrit form corresponding to Sanskrit Pūrvaśaila. A name, meaning “Eastern Mountain or Hill,” may, of course, have been used at different places of India. But it is a point worth considering whether the remains of Nāgārjunikoṇḍa can possibly represent the ancient capital of Dhaññakataka, which archæologists have sought both at Dharanikōṭa near Amarāvati and at Bezwādā.

Another point of interest is the mention of Siripavata (i.e., Siripavvata) in inscription F. The Prakrit word corresponds to Sanskrit Śrīparvata. Now, there is a tradition preserved in Tibet that Nāgārjuna spent the concluding part of his life in a monastery of that name in Southern India.<sup>4</sup> If this convent is the same as the “*vihāra* on the Siripavata to the east of Vijayapurī” of our inscription, it would follow that the association of the great divine of the Mahāyāna with this locality has been preserved up to the present day in the name Nāgārjunikoṇḍa. We may confidently hope that these and other questions of great import will be finally settled by further systematic excavations.

Among the religious foundations enumerated in F, we wish to draw attention to the two monasteries, called Kulaha-*vihāra* and Sihaḷa-*vihāra*. The former appears to have owed its existence to the same noble family which is mentioned in one of the *āyaka*-pillar inscriptions (B 4)

<sup>1</sup> E. H. Warmington, *The Commerce between the Roman Empire and India*, Cambridge 1923, p. 116.

<sup>2</sup> *Si-yu-ki*, transl. by S. Beal, Vol. II, pp. 221 ff.; Thomas Watters, *On Yuan Chwang's Travels in India*, Vol. II, pp. 214 ff.

<sup>3</sup> Prof. Lüders' *List*, Nos. 1225 and 1271. The form *Dhaññakaka* occurs in the Mayidavōlu copper-plate grant of the Pallava Yuvamahārāja Śivaskandavarman.

<sup>4</sup> W. Wassiljew, *Der Buddhismus*, Vol. I, pp. 220 f.

under the name of Kulahaka. The other, if we may judge from its appellation, must have been a convent founded either by a Singhalese or, more probably, for the accommodation of Singhalese monks. This "Ceylonese Convent" appears to have contained a shrine with a Bodhi-tree (Bodhi-rukha-pāsāda = Skt. Bōdhi-vṛkṣha-prāsāda) which is, indeed, a necessary adjunct of the Buddhist monasteries of Ceylon up to the present day. Not only the mention of a Sihaḷa-vihāra, but also the dedication of a *chetiya-ghara* to the *theriṇas* or "fraternities" of Tambapanni point to relations which must have existed between the Buddhist community of Dhaññakataka and their co-religionists in the Isle of Ceylon. The existence of such relations can be easily accounted for from the sea-borne trade which was carried on between the ports of the Island and Kaṇṭaka-sela, the great emporium on the right bank of the Kistna river.

This trade was, no doubt, also largely responsible for the flourishing state of Buddhism in this part of India. The devotees of the Good Law were largely recruited from the commercial classes and it was their wealth which enabled not only the merchants themselves, but also their royal masters, to raise monuments of such magnificence as the great *stūpa* of Amarāvati. Both Amarāvati and Nāgārjunikoṇḍa are situated on the right bank of the Kistna, the former being situated at a distance of some 60 miles from the mouth of the river. Nāgārjunikoṇḍa lies considerably higher up the river, the distance between this place and Amarāvati being another 60 miles as the crow flies, but considerably longer by river. On the opposite side of the river we have Jaggayyapeṭa, containing another monument of the reign of the Ikshvākus. The village of Allūru in the Nandigāma taluk of the Kistna district has yielded a fragmentary Prakrit inscription, referred to above, which appears to record a donation to a Buddhist monastery. At the village of Gummaḍiduru in the Kistna district the remains of a large *stūpa*, adorned with marble reliefs in the Amarāvati style, have recently come to light together with the remnants of monastic buildings. All these monuments attest to the piety and the wealth of the Buddhist community in these parts during the second and third centuries of our era. In the days of Hiuen Tsiang the monasteries were mostly deserted and ruined. The collapse of Buddhism on the lower Kistna may have had various causes; besides the general wane of that religion all over India, there may have been economic agents at work, like the decline of the sea-borne trade with the West, which had caused vast quantities of Roman gold to pour into the Peninsula. There was also the conquest of Southern India by the Gupta Emperor Samudragupta and the rise of powerful dynasties devoted to Brahmanism like the Pallava in the South and the Chālukya in the West.

In connection with Buddhism attention must be drawn to the mention of sect-names in the Nāgārjunikoṇḍa inscriptions. In Nos. C 1, line 10 and E, line 2, the dedication is stated to be made for the benefit or acceptance of the Aparamahāvinaseliyas. In both cases the sign for *i* over the fifth *akṣara* is quite distinct so that we are not allowed to read *-mahāvana-*, as was done by Drs. Burgess and Hultzsch in the case of an Amarāvati inscription.<sup>1</sup> The latter was inclined to associate the name with the Mahāvanaśālā at Vaiśālī, well-known from the Buddha legend. The Amarāvati inscription in question, however, has certainly *Mahāvinaseliyānam*. At the end of the fragmentary Prakrit inscription from Allūru we read: *ayirāna[m] Puvaseliy[ā]na[m] niṣāyasa* (Skt. *āryāṇām Pūvaśāliyāṇām nikāyasya*).

The Pali chronicles of Ceylon make mention of the *Iubha-* and the *Apara-selika-*, the two sub-divisions of the *Mahāsaṅghika-*.<sup>2</sup> The latter of those two expressions is perhaps an abbreviated form of the *Avaramahāvinaseliyas* in our inscriptions. Can it be that the two sects,

<sup>1</sup> Burgess, *Amarāvati*, p. 105, No. 49; and Hultzsch, *Z. D. M. G.*, Vol. XXXVII, pp. 550 f., and XL, p. 314.

<sup>2</sup> *Mahāvamsa*, V, 12, and *Dīpavamsa*, V, 54.

known as Pubba- and Aparaselikas, originated from the two Buddhist convents of Pubbasela and Aparasela which, according to Hiuen Tsiang, existed on the hills to the east and the west of the capital of Dhaññakaṭaka ?

The inscription G, line 8, contains the name of another Buddhist sect—Bahusutīya—which corresponds to Pali Bahusuttīya (Skt. Bahuśrutīya). Besides, we have Ayīra-haṁgha (Skt. *Ārya-saṅgha*) in C 1, line 11 and C 2, line 10, and Mahi[sā]saka (Skt. Mahīśāsaka) in H, line 12.

#### *Language and Script.*

A considerable difficulty in the way of interpreting the Nāgārjunikoṇḍa inscriptions is the want of precision of which they show ample evidence. Considering that these inscriptions were meant to be perpetual records of pious donations made by ladies of royal blood, the careless manner in which they have been recorded is astonishing. Not only single syllables but whole words have been omitted. We find, moreover, that only in one instance it has been considered necessary to correct such an omission, *i.e.*, in the word *Mahāchetiya* (E, line 1) where the *akshara* *hā* has been placed under the line. In other instances syllables have been repeated (C 2, lines 1 and 3), or interchanged (*e.g.*, *bhamkham* for *khamkham* in C 4, line 7). Very often the length of the vowels *ā* and *ī* is not marked. Even the name of the reigning monarch, Siri-Virapurisadata, is written with *vi* instead of *vī* except in a very few cases where we find the correct spelling with *ī*. Much less frequently the long *ī* has been substituted for the short one, *e.g.*, in *Mahāchetiya*. Considering the frequency of the omission of the *ā*-stroke, we have ventured to assume that this omission has twice taken place in the long compound *samaṇa-bamhaṇa-kavaṇa-vaṇija-dīn-ā-nugaha-velāmika-dāna-paṭibhūga-rochhina-dhāra-palāyini*, which re-occurs several times in the passage relating to the principal donor, Chāṁtisiri. This compound, as far as we can see, does not yield an intelligible sense, unless we read *-dān-āpaṭibhag-ārochhina*, thus assuming that the two adjectives required here are *apaṭibhaga* and *arochhina*. With regard to the latter word we may compare the use of the Sanskrit equivalent *avyavachchhinna* in the following line from the *Harivaṁśa* (verse 3580) where we read : *avyavachchhinna-dhār-aughaiḥ samudr-augaḥa-samair-dhanaiḥ*.

The sign for *dha* is sometimes substituted for that of *tha*, whereas a certain confusion seems to prevail between *tha* and *tha*. The looped characters *ta* and *na* are very similar and are not always clearly distinguishable. The same is the case with the *aksharas*, the initial *a* and *su*.

The sign for *anusvāra* too has often been omitted, while in several cases it is difficult to decide whether what appears to be a dot over the *akshara* may not be a depression in the surface of the stone merely due to accident. In consequence, there prevails a certain amount of uncertainty with regard to the correct form of the personal names Chāṁtamūla and Chāṁtisiri. In several cases where these names occur, there is no trace of an *anusvāra*, but as in a few instances such a sign can be made out, we are perhaps justified in assuming that its non-occurrence is due to the inadvertence so noticeable throughout these records.

This want of precision becomes especially manifest if we compare the various redactions of the inscription recording the grant of a stele by the chief donor, the lady Chāṁtisiri. It is clear that these redactions are all based on the same text, but none of them produces that text without some omissions or mistakes. We may refer the reader to the text of C 3 given below with the various readings found in the corresponding inscriptions.

It is difficult to say who is to be held responsible for the negligent treatment which we have noticed in these epigraphs. The additional passage found in two of the pillar inscriptions of Chāṁtisiri, namely C 1 and 2, mentions a “Bhadanta Ānanda, carrier of the *Dīgha*- and the *Majjhima-nikāya*” who acted as the *navakammika* of the Mahāchetiya. In the case of the apsidal temple



and other religious works founded by the *upāsikā* Bodhisiri there were even three *navakammikas*, the *theras* Chaṇḍamukha, Dharmmanandi and Nāga (F, lines 3 & 4). As the *navakammika* was the monk commissioned by the *Saṅgha* to superintend the foundation (*navakamma*) dedicated by some lay-member, his responsibility may be supposed to have extended also over the inscriptional records of the *deyadhamma*. It is, however, quite possible that the author of the inscriptions was some other learned member of the *Saṅgha*. We may perhaps assume that, the text of the inscriptions having been fixed, some copyist, either a *bhikkhu* or a professional writer, was employed to prepare one or more copies in the very ornamental writing of the period for the use of the stone-mason. At the end of inscription F we find the name of the stone-mason (*sela-vaḍḍhiki*) Vidhika recorded immediately after those of the three *navakammikas*. It must be admitted that, as regards its technical execution, not only this epigraph but also the sixteen *āyaka*-pillar inscriptions leave nothing to be desired. It is noteworthy that inscription H which, as we saw, must belong to a somewhat later period, shows at once a marked deterioration in technical skill.

With regard to the style of writing used in the Nāgārjunikoṇḍa inscription, it will suffice to refer to the observations made by Dr. Bühler with regard to the inscriptions from Jaggaya-peṭṭa.<sup>1</sup> Here we wish only to draw attention to the use of *la* in *Sihala-talākam*, and *aḷaṇḍā* in F, line 3, and to the occurrence of the following ligatures: *dra* in *Rudradhara*<sup>o</sup> (B 5, line 4), *nhā* in *suṃnhānam* (F, line 3), *ṇhu* in *Vinhusirisa*, *mha* in *bamhaṇa* (A 3, line 6 etc.), *mhi* in *invaṃhi* (A 3, line 2) and *mahāchetiyamhi* (C 4, line 2 and X, line 8), and *tṭi* in *nattiya* (H, line 8).

The inscriptions contain the numerical symbols for one, three (F, line 1), four (F, line 1), five (E, line 2), six (*passim*), seven (F, line 3 and H, line 4), eight (E, line 2), ten (*passim*), seventy (B 5, line 6), and hundred (B 5, line 6).

As regards the language, the following peculiarities may be noted:—

The *ri* vowel is represented by *a* in *kavaṇa* (Skt. *kripaṇa*) and *vasabha* (Skt. *vrishabha*), but elsewhere, by *u*. Examples: *bhatuno* (F, line 2) from Skt. *bhatṛi*; *putuno* (F, line 2) from Skt. *pitṛi*; *bhātuno* (F, line 3), *bhātunam* (F, line 2) and *bhātuputānam* (F, line 2) from Skt. *bhrātṛi*; *mātuya* (F, line 2 and G, line 7) from Skt. *māṭṛi*; *mahāmātukāya* (F, line 2) from Skt. *mahāmāṭṛi*; *dhūtuya* (F, line 3; H, line 9) from Skt. *duhitṛi*; *jām[ā]tukasa* (E, line 1) from Skt. *jāmāṭṛi*; *mūtuk[ā]* (C 1, line 11 and C 2, line 9) from Skt. *māṭṛikā*.

We notice *Svarabhukti* in *bharyā* (*passim*) from Skt. *bhāryā*; *mahāchetiya* (*passim*) from Skt. *°cāitya*; *achariya* (*passim*) from Skt. *āchārya*; *harisa* (F, line 1) from Skt. *harsha*; *tarisa* (F, line 1) from Skt. *tarsha*; *darisana* (F, line 1) from Skt. *darśana*; and *mahāsenāpatini* (*passim*) from Skt. *°patni*. Cf. Pischel, *Grammatik der Prakrit-Sprachen*, §135.

The *p* between vowels becomes *v*. Examples: *Avaranta* (F, line 1) from Skt. *Aparānta*; *kavaṇa* (*passim*) from Skt. *kripaṇa*; *uvāsikāya* (F, line 2) from Skt. *upāsikā*; *uvarivamṇ[ā]tam*] (F, line 3) from Skt. *upari*<sup>o</sup>; *th[ā]vitaṃ* (F, line 3) from Skt. *sthāpitaṃ*; *Govagāma* (F, line 2) from Skt. *Gōpagrāma* (?); *maṇṭava* (E, line 2) and *maṇḍava* (F, line 3) from Skt. *maṇḍapa*.

The *media* is changed into the *tenuis*, in *koṭh[ā]kārika*<sup>o</sup> (F, line 2) from Skt. *kōṣṭhāgārika*; and *maṇṭava* (E, line 2) from Skt. *maṇḍapa*. But elsewhere *maṇḍava* (thrice in F). Cf. also *deyadhamma-parichāko* from Skt. *°parityāga*, in the Allūru fragmentary inscription, line 14.

The *tenuis* has been changed into the *media* in *Pugiyāna[m]* (E, line 1), but elsewhere *Pūkīyānam* or *Pūkiyānam*, and *sughāya* (G, line 10) from Skt. *sukha*. Cf. *nigūyasa* from Skt. *nikāya* in the Allūru inscription. As regards *Pūkīya* and *Pūgīya*, it is, of course, possible that the latter is the more correct and original form. May it be connected with Skt. *pūga* = "betel-palm"?

<sup>1</sup> G. Bühler, *Indische Palaeographie*, p. 44.

The initial *h* in some personal names appears to have been developed from *s*. Examples : *Haṃmasiri* (C 4, line 5) ; *Haṃmasiriṇikā* (C 2, lines 5-6 and 7 ; C 4, line 7) ; *Haḡhaṃna* (F, line 2). Also, *Ayira-haṃghāna* (C 1, line 11 ; C 2, line 10) from Skt. *Ārya-saṃghānām*. But *saṃghaṃ* (H, line 13) and *mahābhikku-sa[m]ghasa* (E, line 2).

We wish also to draw attention to the following forms : *ayira-* (C 1, line 11 ; C 2, line 10) from Skt. *ārya* ; *bhayā* for the more usual *bhāriyā* from Skt. *bhāryā* ; and *Chilāta* (F, line 1) from Skt. *Kirāta*.

### LIST OF INSCRIPTIONS.

#### a. Inscriptions on the āyaka-pillars of the Mahāchetiya.<sup>1</sup>

A. 2. East side, second pillar. One large and two small fragments. The large piece contains lines 1—7 (*sidham* to =*vachhalā ma-*), line 7 being incomplete. Besides, there is a gap on the right hand side by which several *aksharas* at the end of lines 2—4 and 6 are lost. One of the smaller fragments supplies the initial *aksharas* of lines 6—10, and the other, a few *aksharas* of lines 7—8. The inscription, when entire, must have consisted of 10 lines, 24½ inches long. It records the gift of a pillar by the *Mahātālavari* Chāntisiri (name lost), the sister of King Chāntamūla and the paternal aunt of King Siri-Vīrapurisadata. Date lost.

A. 3. East side, third pillar. Inscription in two pieces. One large piece contains the inscription almost complete except the middle portion of lines 1—2. This missing portion is supplied by the smaller fragment containing 17 *aksharas* of the first line. The inscription consists partly of 10 lines, 25 inches long. It records the donation of a pillar by Chāntisiri (*cf.* sub A. 2). Date, the 6th year of King Siri-Vīrapurisadata in last short line.

A. 4. East side, fourth pillar. Two large and one smaller fragment. The one large piece contains ll. 1—5, incomplete and partly obliterated. The other contains lines 5—11, *viz.*, the latter half of the inscription, almost complete, although partly indistinct. The small fragment supplies the initial *aksharas* of lines 1 to 3. The inscription must have consisted of 11 lines, measuring from 21—22½ inches in length. Donation of a pillar by Chāntisiri (*cf.* sub A. 2). Date as above sub A. 3 in last short line.

B. 1. South side, first pillar. One fragment, containing lines 1—6 in their full length, but with central portion completely obliterated. Length of lines 16 inches. Name of donor and date lost.

B. 2. South side, second pillar. Inscription complete in 7 lines, measuring 20 to 22 inches in length. Gift of a pillar by the *Mahātālavari* Aḡavi-Chāntisiri, the daughter of King Chāntamūla. Date as above.

B. 3. South side, third pillar. Complete in 10 lines, measuring 21 to 23½ inches in length. A few *aksharas* at the end of lines 5—9 missing. Donation of a pillar by Chāntisiriṇikā, evidently the same person as Chāntisiri (*cf.* sub A. 2). Date as above in last short line.

B. 4. South side, fourth pillar. Complete in 7 lines, 17½ to 22 inches. Gift of a stone pillar by the *Mahāsenāpatini* Chula-Chā[m]tisiriṇikā. Date as above in 6th and short 7th line.

B. 5. South side, fifth pillar. Complete in 7 lines, 20 to 22 inches. Gift of a pillar by *Mahādēvi* Rudradharabhaṭ[ā]rikā. Date as above in last short line.

<sup>1</sup> Besides the āyaka-pillar inscriptions enumerated here, twenty-three small fragments have been found which must have belonged to this class of inscriptions.

C. 1. West side, first pillar. Two pieces: the smaller piece, containing lines 1 to 6 (l. 1 complete, l. 2 with the first *akshara* missing, ll. 3—6 incomplete), fits wedge-like into the larger one, which consists of ll. 3 to 13, ll. 3 to 6 supplying the missing portions of the upper piece. The inscription, when complete, consisted of 13 lines, 21 to 23 inches long. Donation of a pillar by Chāntisiri. Date as above.

C. 2. West side, second pillar. Two pieces. The larger piece contains ll. 1—6 complete, besides the initial and concluding portions of ll. 7—9. The smaller piece supplies the middle portions of these three lines and the remainder of the inscription, viz., ll. 10—12 entire. Twelve lines, 19½ to 22 inches long. Gift of a stone pillar by *Mahādēvi* Bapisiripikā, the daughter of Haṁmasiripikā and wife of King Siri-Virapurisadata. Date as above in ll. 11—12, the concluding line being a short one.

C. 3. West side, third pillar. Two pieces. The smaller fragment has 6 lines, viz., l. 1 complete, whereas considerable portions of ll. 2—5 are missing and only a few *aksharas* at the beginning of l. 6 remain. The larger fragment contains the missing parts of ll. 2—6 and, besides, ll. 7—13 entire. Thirteen lines, 20 to 22 inches long. Gift of a pillar by Chā[m]tisiri. Date as above in last short line.

C. 4. West side, fourth pillar. Complete in eight lines, 19 to 22 inches long. Gift of a pillar by *Mahādēvi* Chhaṭhisiri, the daughter of Haṁmasiri[pikā] and wife of King Siri-Virapurisadata. Date as above in concluding line.

C. 5. West side, fifth pillar. Complete in five lines, 19½ to 20½ inches in length. Gift of a stone pillar by the wife of Mahākāṁdasiri. Date as above.

D. 2. North side, second pillar. One piece containing ll. 1—5 complete, the initial and concluding portions of ll. 6—7, the first six *aksharas* of line 8 and only one *akshara* opening line 9. The inscription must have recorded the gift of a pillar by Chāntisiri. Date lost.

D. 3. North side, third pillar. Only a fragment containing ll. 1—2 almost complete, and besides, a few *aksharas* of line 3. Date lost.

D. 4. North side, fourth pillar. Complete in ten lines, 19½ to 21½ inches long. Gift of a pillar by Chā[m]tisiri. Date as above in last short line.

X. Original position unknown. Complete in nine lines, 24 to 25 inches in length. Donation of a pillar by Chāntisiri. Date as above.

#### b. Chetiya-ghara inscriptions.

E. Inscription on floor of apsidal shrine, No. I, immediately to the east of the Mahāchetiya. Inscription complete in two lines, measuring 14 feet 5 inches. Average size of *aksharas* ½ to ⅔ inch. Inscription well preserved except first portion of the second line. It records the dedication of a *chetiya-ghara* or stone *maṇḍava* (Skt. *maṇḍapa*) provided with a cloister (*chatusāla*) at the foot of the Mahāchetiya by the *Mahātālavarī* Chāntisiri, mentioned in several of the *āyaka*-pillar inscriptions, who here refers to King Siri-Virapurisadata as her son-in-law for the benefit of the Masters of the Aparamahāvīnaseliya sect. Date, the eighteenth year of King Siri-Virapurisadata.

F. Inscription on floor of the apsidal shrine, No. II, on the mound Nāharāḷlabōḍu, consisting of three long lines, 18 feet 4 inches to 19 feet in length, and of a fourth short line of 1 foot 9 inches. Average size of *aksharas* ⅔ to ¾ inch. The inscription is fairly well preserved; here and there some *aksharas* have been lost. After a lengthy invocation of the Buddha it records the foundation of a *chetiya-ghara* and of various other religious edifices by an *uvāsikā* (Skt. *upāsikā*), named Bodhisiri, together with her relatives, for the benefit of the fraternities (*theriya*) of the Ceylonese monks who had converted a number of countries which are enumerated at great length. Date, the fourteenth year of King Māṭhariputa (=Siri-Virapurisadata?).

## c. Detached pillar inscriptions.

G. Inscription on a stone pillar or stele decorated with carvings, at a distance of about two furlongs to the north-west of the Mahāchetiya. It consists of ten lines of writing. The inscribed surface shows three cracks and the right hand portion damaged. Some three or four *akṣaras* at the end of ll. 1—5 are lost. Lines 9 and 10 are partly obliterated. The lines, when complete, must have been 15 inches in length. The average size of the *akṣaras* is  $\frac{1}{2}$  to  $\frac{3}{4}$  inch. The lettering has become worn owing to exposure to the weather. The inscription records the foundation of a *vihāra* by *Mahādēvi* Bhaṭṭidēvā, who was the wife (?) of King Siri-Virapurisadata and the mother of King Ehuvaḷa(?)—Chā[m]tamūla. The date in ll. 9—10 is no longer legible.

H. Inscription on a stone pillar or stele found at Koṭṭampalugu to the north of Nāgārjunikoṇḍa. It consists of fourteen lines of writing, measuring about 12 inches in length. The inscription is fairly well preserved, but here and there some *akṣaras* have become indistinct. The execution is fair, but less ornamented than in the earlier inscriptions. The size of the *akṣaras* is from  $\frac{1}{2}$  to  $\frac{3}{4}$  inch; they miss the long-drawn strokes of the earlier inscriptions and the lines are placed close together. The inscription records the foundation of a *vihāra* by *Mahādēvi* Koda[ba]ḷisiri, who was the daughter of King Siri-Virapurisadata, sister of King Ehuvaḷa—Chā[m]tamūla, and wife of the Mahārāja of Vanavāsa. It is dated in the 11th year of King Ehuvaḷa—Chā[m]tamūla.

## d. Inscriptions on sculptures.

J. Inscription along the lower edge of a frieze showing the adoration of the Wheel of the Law (first sermon at Benares) in the centre and an amatory couple or *mithuna* on both sides. These three scenes are separated and flanked by railings. The frieze is supported by a row of crouching lions. The inscription consists of two lines, measuring 38 and 16 inches in length. The execution is fair and the preservation, satisfactory. The average size of the *akṣaras* is  $\frac{1}{2}$  inch. The inscription opens with an invocation of the Buddha and records the donation of a slab and of a coping stone at the Mahāchetiya by an individual of the name of Chhadakapavaticha and by his housewife Padumavāni together with their sons and daughters. No date.

K. Inscription along the lower edge of a long sculptured beam found on the mound Polugubōḍu. It consists of one line of writing, the beginning and concluding portions of which are almost entirely obliterated. The inscription, as far as preserved, measures nearly five feet in length. It records the donation of a slab (?) by a person whose name is lost, together with his sons, daughters, sons-in-law, grandsons, granddaughters, relatives and friends. The preserved portions contain no date.

## TRANSCRIPTS AND TRANSLATIONS.

*Āyaka-pillar inscription C 3.*

The text of the *āyaka*-pillar inscription recording the donation of such a pillar by Chā[m]-tisiri occurs in nine redactions, namely, A 2, 3 and 4, B 3, C 1 and 3, D 2 and 4, and X, seven of which are complete and two (A 2 and D 2) are incomplete. In C 1 there is an addition at the end, whereas in X the invocation of the Buddha opening the document has been omitted. It will be sufficient to reproduce the text only once, as given in C 3, noting such *variae lectioes* as are found in the other redactions. The additional passage of C 1 will be given separately.

## TRANSCRIPT.

(1. 1) Sidham namo<sup>1</sup> bhagavato devarāja-sakatasa supabudha-bodhino<sup>2</sup> savamñuno  
(1. 2) sava-sat-ānukāmpakasa jita-rāga-dosa-mcha-vipamutasa mahāgaṇi-vasabha- (1. 3) [gaṇ]dha-  
hathisa saṁma-saṁ[budh]asa dhātuvara-parigahitasa mah[ā]chetiye<sup>3</sup> mahārajasa (1. 4) Virūpa-  
khaṇḍa-Mahāsena-parigahitasa<sup>4</sup> hiraṇa-koṭi<sup>5</sup>-go-satasahasā-hala-sa- (1. 5) tasaha[sa]-dāyisa  
savathesu apatihata-saṁkapasa Vāsīthiputasa<sup>6</sup> Ikhākusa (1. 6) Siri-Chātamūlasa<sup>7</sup> sodarā  
bhagini raṁño Mādhariputasa<sup>8</sup> Siri-Virapurisadatasa (1. 7) pituchhā mahāsenāpatisa<sup>9</sup>  
mahātalavarasa Vāsīdhīputasa<sup>10</sup> Pūkiyānaṁ<sup>11</sup> Kāmdasiri[sa]<sup>12</sup> (1. 8) bhariyā samaṇa-  
bam[h\*]aṇa-kavaṇa-vanijaka<sup>13</sup>-din-ānugaha-velāmika<sup>14</sup>-dāna-paṭibhaga<sup>15</sup>-vo- (1. 9) chhimna<sup>16</sup>-  
dhāra-padāyini sava-sādhū-vachchalā mahādānapatini<sup>17</sup> mahātalavari Khamdasāgarāṁnaka<sup>18</sup>-  
mātā (1. 10) Ch[ā]tisiri<sup>19</sup> apano ubhaya-kulasa atichhitam-anāgata-vaṭamānakānaṁ<sup>20</sup>  
parināmetunaṁ<sup>21</sup> (1. 11) ubhaya-loka-hita-sukh-āvahathanāya<sup>22</sup> atano cha nivāṇa-  
saṁpati-saṁpādake (1. 12) sava-loka-hita-sukh-āvahathanāya<sup>24</sup> cha imaṁ khaṁbham  
patithapitaṁ ti (1. 13) Raṁño Siri-Virapurisadatasa sava 6 vā pa 6<sup>21</sup>  
diva 10

<sup>1</sup> Invocation of Buddha omitted in X.

<sup>2</sup> *supabudha-bodhino* up to *saṁma-sambudhasa* omitted in B 3, l. 1; C 1, l. 1; D 2, l. 1; D 4, l. 1.

<sup>3</sup> *imamhi mahāchetiye* in A 4, l. 3; D 4, l. 1 (*mahāchetiye*); *imamhi mahāchetiye* in A 3, ll. 2-3; D 2, l. 1; *mahāchetiye* in A 2, l. 3.

<sup>4</sup> *Virūpakhaṇḍa-Mahāsena-parigahitasa* omitted in D 2, l. 2. *Agīhot-Agīhoma-Vāṇapey-Asamedha-yājisa* after *-parigahitasa* in A 2, ll. 3-4; A 3, ll. 3-4; A 4, l. 4; *-parigahitasa* in B 3, l. 2; D 4, l. 2.

<sup>5</sup> *hiraṇa-koṭi* in A 2, l. 4; A 3, l. 4; B 3, l. 3; D 4, l. 3.

<sup>6</sup> *Vāsīthiputasa* in A 3, l. 5; A 4, l. 5; B 3, l. 4; X, l. 3; *Vāseṭhiputasa* in C 1, l. 4; *Vāsīthi* in D 2, l. 3; *Vāsīdhī* in D 4, l. 4.

<sup>7</sup> *Chātamūlasa* in A 2, l. 5; A 3, l. 5; A 4, l. 5; C 1, l. 5; D 4, l. 4; X, l. 3.

<sup>8</sup> *Mādhariputasa* omitted in A 3, l. 5; D 4, l. 5; *Mādhariputasa* in A 4, l. 6; X, l. 3.

<sup>9</sup> *senāpatisa* omitted in X, l. 4.

<sup>10</sup> Read: *Vāsīthiputasa* with A 4, l. 6; B 3, l. 6; C 1, l. 6; X, l. 4. The reading is *Vāsīthiputasa* in A 2, l. 6; *Vāseṭhi* in D 2, l. 5; *Vāsīdhī* in D 4, l. 5.

<sup>11</sup> *Pūkiyānaṁ* in B 3, l. 6; X, l. 4.

<sup>12</sup> *Kāmdasirisa* in A 4, l. 7; D 4, l. 6; X, l. 4. Omitted in A 3, l. 6.

<sup>13</sup> *-vaṇija* in A 3, l. 6; *-vaṇijaka* in A 4, l. 7; B 3, l. 6; C 1, l. 7; D 2, l. 5; D 4, l. 6; X, l. 5.

<sup>14</sup> *velāmika* in A 4, l. 7; *-velāmi* in B 3, l. 7; D 2, l. 6.

<sup>15</sup> Read: *paṭibhaga*, the reading of A 2, l. 7; A 4, ll. 7-8; B 3, l. 7; C 1, l. 7; D 2, l. 6; D 4, l. 6; X, l. 5.

<sup>16</sup> *vachhina* in A 2, l. 7; A 3, l. 7; A 4, l. 8; B 3, l. 7; C 1, l. 7; D 4, l. 6; X, l. 5.

<sup>17</sup> *mahādānapatini* omitted in B 3, l. 7; D 2, l. 6; D 4, l. 7.

<sup>18</sup> *Khamdasāgarāṁnaka* in A 3, l. 7; A 4, l. 8; C 1, l. 8; X, l. 6. *Khada* in D 2, l. 7; D 4, l. 7.

<sup>19</sup> *Chāmtisiri* in A 3, l. 7; A 4, l. 9; C 1, l. 8; X, l. 6. *Chāmtisiripitā* in B 3, l. 8.

<sup>20</sup> *-vaṭamānake* in B 3, l. 8; D 4, l. 8; X, l. 7.

<sup>21</sup> *parināmetuna* in A 3, l. 8; A 4, l. 9; *parināmetuna* in D 4, l. 8; *parināmetuna* (?) in X, l. 7; *apano ubhaya-kula-parināmetuna* in C 1, l. 8

<sup>22</sup> *ubhaya-loka-sukha-nivāṭathanāya* in A 3, l. 8; A 4, l. 10; X, l. 7. Omitted in B 3, l. 9; C 1, l. 9; D 4, l. 8.

X, l. 8 has after *-saṁpādake* the following: *bhagavato saṁma-sambudhasa dhātu- (dhātu)vara-parigahi-tasa mahāchetiyaṁ*.

<sup>23</sup> *-sukha-nivāṭathanāya* in A 3, l. 9; A 4, l. 10 (?); D 4, l. 9. *Sava-loka* omitted in B 3, l. 9.

<sup>24</sup> *vā pa 6* written under the line. In A 3, l. 10 and A 4, l. 11 these *aksharas* have been omitted.

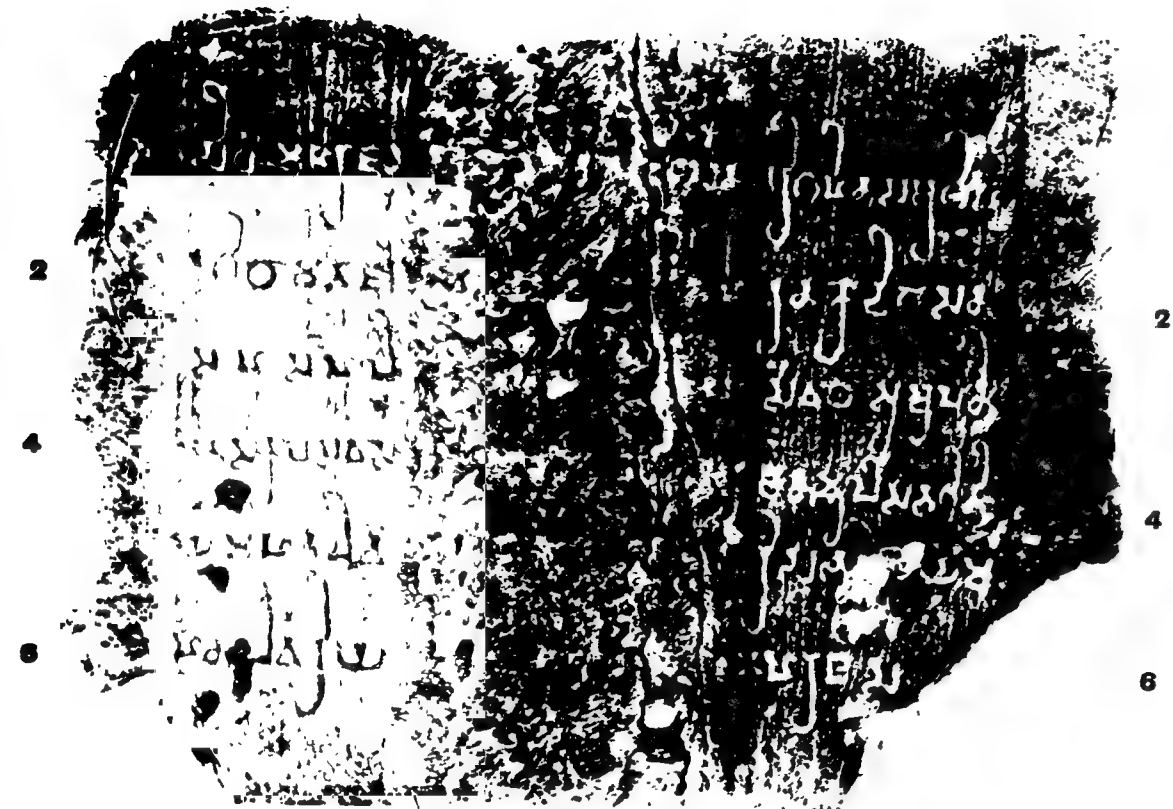
C-3.

1. ...  
2. ...  
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9. ...  
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12. ...

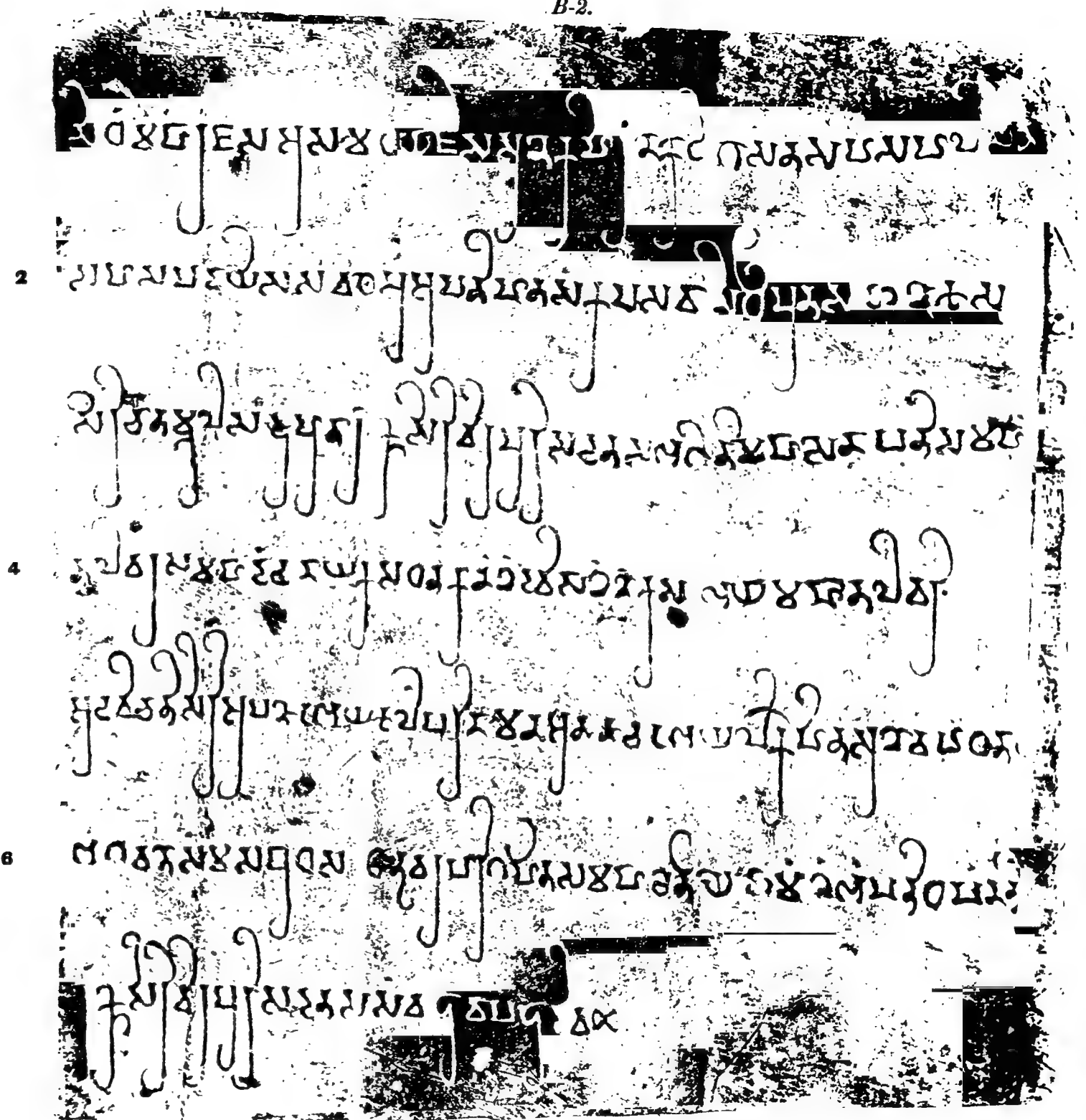
C-1.

1. ...  
2. ...  
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4. ...  
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6. ...  
7. ...  
8. ...  
9. ...  
10. ...  
11. ...  
12. ...

B-1.



B-2.



## TRANSLATION.

Adoration to the Lord, the Supreme Buddha, honoured by the Lord of the gods, the most compassionate towards all sentient beings, freed from lust, hatred and delusion which have been conquered by him, the bull and musk-elephant among great spiritual leaders, the Enlightened One, who is absorbed by the best of elements (i.e., by Nirvāṇa). At the same time, the *Mahātūlavara* Chā[ti]tisiri (who is) the uterine sister of Mahārāja Vasiṭhiputa the son of Śa[ti]śamūla—absorbed by Mahāsena the lord of Virūpakhas, the giver of crores and hundred thousands of kine, and hundred thousands of ploughs (of land) unimpeded of the *śāstā* (the *śāstā*),—(she who is) the paternal aunt of King Māgharīputa Siri-Virapurisadatta, the wife of the *Mahāśeṇāpati*, the *Mahātūlavara*, Vasiṭhiputa Karṇidasiri of (the *śāstā*), the Pūliyas; and the mother of Khamidasāgarāṇṇaka, she who, out of compassion for Śāstās, Buddhas, and those that are miserable, poor and destitute, is wont to bestow on them a matchless and ceaseless flow<sup>1</sup> of Velānic gifts, she, the great mistress of munificence, loved by all the virtuous, having due regard for the past, future and present (members) of both the houses to which she belongs, for the attainment of welfare and happiness in both the worlds and in order to attain herself the bliss of Nirvāṇa and for the attainment of welfare and happiness of all the world, has erected this pillar. In the 6th year of (the reign of) King Siri-Virapurisadatta, the 6th fortnight of the rainy season, the 10th day.

*Additional Passage in C 1.<sup>2</sup>*

## TRANSCRIPT.

(l. 10) āchariyānaṁ Aparamahāvīnaś[e]llyāna[m] supariḡahitaṁ imaṁ mahācetiya-  
navakamaṁ[m] (l. 11) Paṇḡagāma-vathavānaṁ Dīgha-Majjhima-pa[m]cha-mātuka-osaka<sup>3</sup>.  
(l. 12) āchariyānaṁ Ayira-haṁghāna[m] (l. 12) a[m]teṇāsikena Dīgha-Majjhima-  
nikkama-dharena bhajant-ānadena<sup>4</sup> nithapitaṁ imaṁ navakamaṁ mahācetiyaṁ (l. 13) khambhā  
cha thūpā tā tāmāṇo Siri-Virapurisadattasa sava 6 va pa 6 diva 10

## TRANSLATION.

For the benefit of the Masters of the Aparamahāvīnaseliya sect this pious foundation of the Mahācetiya has been completed by the Reverend Ānanda, who knows the *Dīgha*- and the *Majjhima-nikāyas* by heart, (who is) a disciple of the Master of the Ayira-haṁgha (Skt. *Ārya-saṅgha*) who are resident in Paṇḡagāma and who are preachers and preceptors of the *Dīgha*, the *Majjhima-nikāya* and of the five *Mātukas*. This pious work, the Mahācetiya, was completed and the pillars were erected. In the 6th year of (the reign of) King Siri-Virapurisadatta, the 6th fortnight of the rainy season, the 10th day.

*Ayaka-pillar inscription B 1.*

## TRANSCRIPT.

(l. 1) Sidhaṁ mahārājasa....sena-pariḡahitasa Agiho-(l. 2) t-Āgūthoma-Vāja.....[hi]  
rana koṭi-go-sata- (l. 3) sahāsa-hala....savathesu apati- (l. 4) hata-sa[m]kapaśa V[ā]se.....

<sup>1</sup> My translation is based on the assumption that we must read *-dān-āpatihhāg-arocharāna-*.

<sup>2</sup> i.e. the corresponding passage in line 8 of the *āyaka*-pillar inscription C 2, *infra*.

<sup>3</sup> Read: *-desaka-* (C 2, l. 9).

<sup>4</sup> Read: *bhaddant-ānadena* (C 2, l. 10).



Chātāmūlasa bhagini- (l. 5) ya mahātalava[rasa]...[si]risa bha[riyā]ya ma- (l. 6) hātāla-variya...mah[ā]r[ā]jasa

[The inscription is too fragmentary to admit of translation. It, evidently, opens with the string of epithets eulogizing King Siri-Chā[m]tamūla. The donor, whose name is lost, was, perhaps, a daughter of Chā[m]tisiri.]

*Āyaka-pillar inscription B 2.*

**TRANSCRIPT.**

(l. 1) Sidham mahārajasa Asamedha-yājisa aneka-hiraṇṇa-koṭi-go-satasahasā-bala-sata- (l. 2) sahasa-padāyisa savathesu apatihata-saṁkapasa Vāsīthīputasa Ikhākusa (l. 3) Siri-Chā[m]tamūlasa duhutā raṁṇo Siri-Virapurisadatasa bhagini mahāsenāpatisa mahā- (l. 4) talavarasa mahādāṇḍanāyakasa Dhanakāṇaṁ Khamdavisākhamṇakasa bhayā mahātalavari (l. 5) Adavi-Chātisiri apāno ubhaya-kulāṁ parināme[tū]na atano cha ubhaya-loka-hita-sukh-āva-hathanāya (l. 6) bhagavato saṁma-sabudhasa<sup>2</sup> dhātuvara-parigahīta Mahāchetiye imaṁ khambham patidhapaṁta<sup>1</sup> ti (l. 7) raṁṇo Siri-Virapurisadatasa saṁva 6 vā pa 6 diva 10

**TRANSLATION.**

Success The *Mahātalavari* Adavi-Chātisiri (*who is*) the daughter of the Mahārāja Vāsīthīputa Ikhāku Siri-Chā[m]tamūla, the offerer of Aśvamēdha, the giver of many crores of gold, hundred thousands of kine, and hundred thousands of ploughs (*of land*), of unimpeded purpose in all (*his*) aims ; (*who is*) the sister of King Siri-Virapurisadata, (*and who is*) the wife of the *Mahāsenāpati*, the *Mahātalavara*, the *Mahādāṇḍanāyaka* Khamdavisākhamṇaka (*of the family*) of the Dhanakas, having due regard for both the houses to which she belongs and for the attainment by herself of welfare and happiness in both the worlds, has erected this pillar at the Mahāchetiya of the Lord, the supreme Buddha who is absorbed by the best of elements (*i.e.*, by Nirvāṇa). In the 6th year of (*the reign of*) King Siri-Virapurisadata, the 6th fortnight of the rainy season, the 10th day.

*Āyaka-pillar inscription B 4.*

**TRANSCRIPT.**

(l. 1) Sidham namo bhagavato devarāja-sakatasa supabudha-bo[dhino\*] savamūno sava-sa[t-ā-](l. 2) nukamṇakasa jita-rāga-dosa-moha-vipamutasa mahāgaṇi-vasabha-gaṁdha-ha[thisa] (l. 3) saṁma-saṁbugasa<sup>2</sup> dhātuvara-parigahīta Mahācheti[ye] Kulahakāṇa-[m] bālikā (l. 4) mahāsenāpatisa mahātalavarasa Vāsīthīputasa Hiraṇṇakāṇaṁ Khamdachalikireṇṇaṇakasa[sa] (l. 5) bhayā mahāsenāpatini Chula-Chātisiriṇikā apāno ubhaya-loka-hita-sukha-ni- (l. 6) vāpathanāya imaṁ sela-khambham paṭiṭhapitaṁ ti raṁṇo Siri-Virapurisadatasa (l. 7) saṁva 6 vā pa 6 diva 10

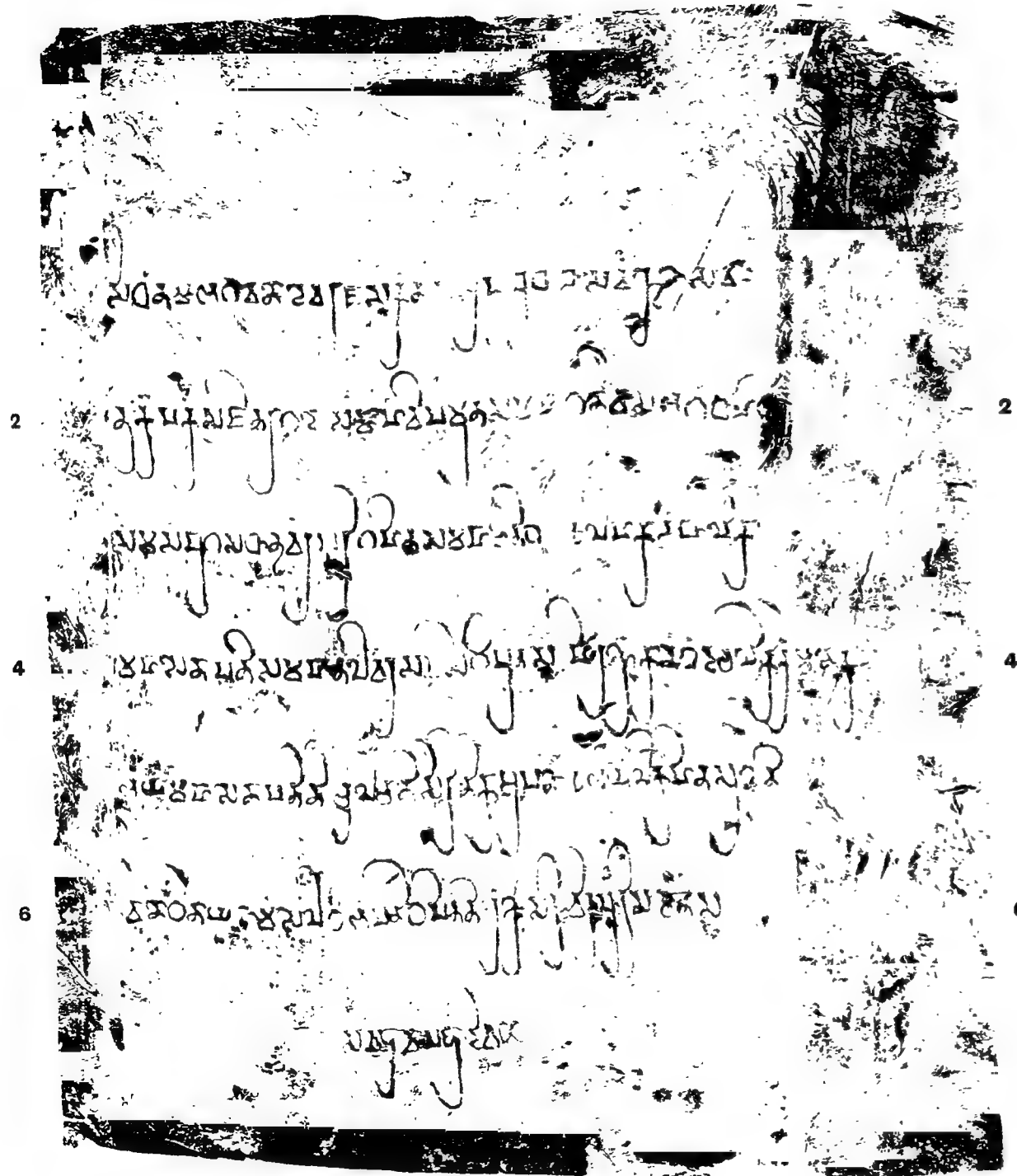
**TRANSLATION.**

Success ! Adoration to the Lord, the Supreme Buddha, honoured by the Lord of the gods, enlightened with perfect enlightenment, omniscient, compassionate towards all sentient beings, freed from lust, hatred and delusion conquered by him, the bull and musk-elephant among great spiritual leaders, absorbed by the best of elements (*i.e.*, Nirvāṇa). At the Mahāchetiya, the

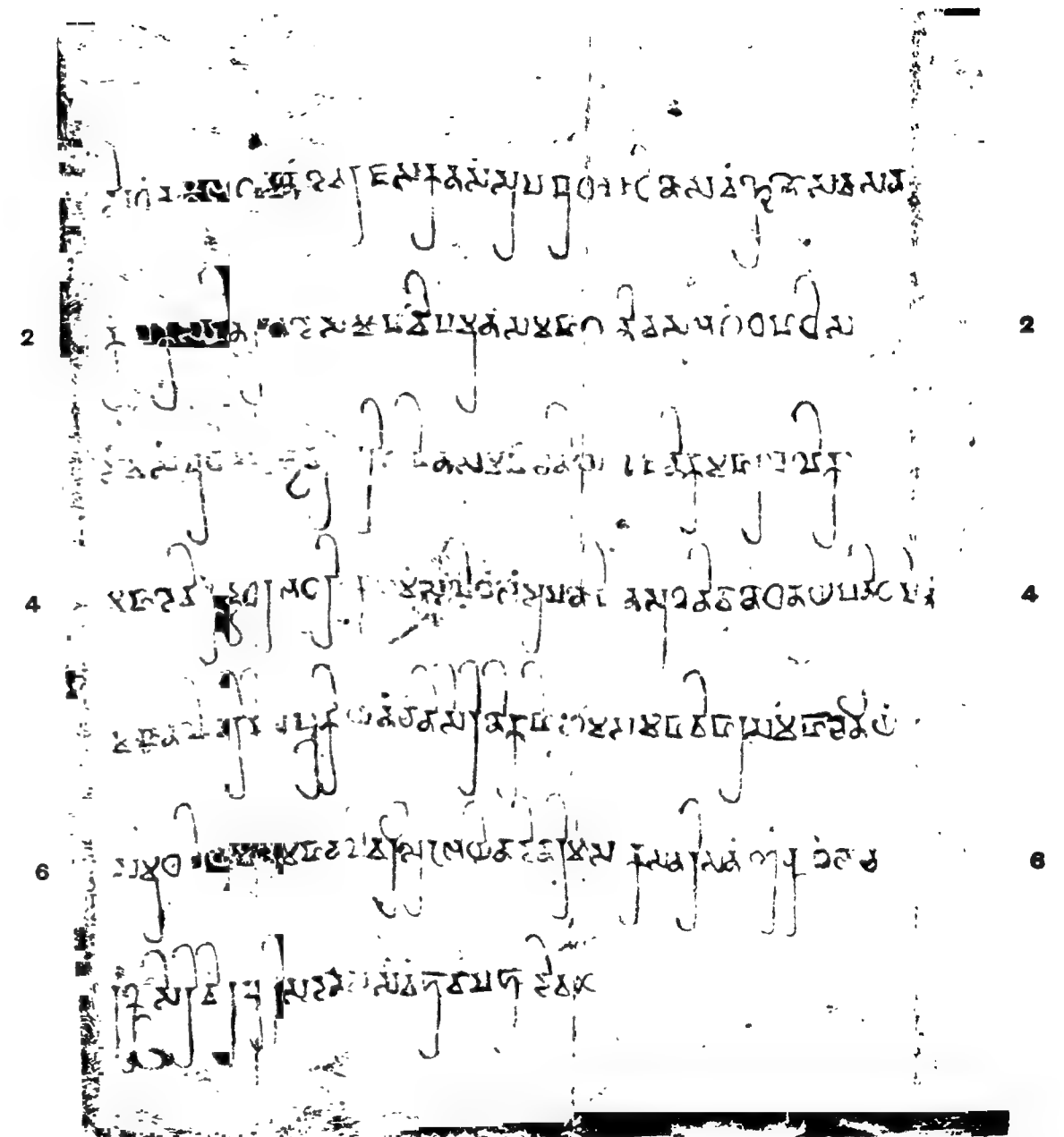
<sup>1</sup>Read : *paṭiṭhapitaṁ*.

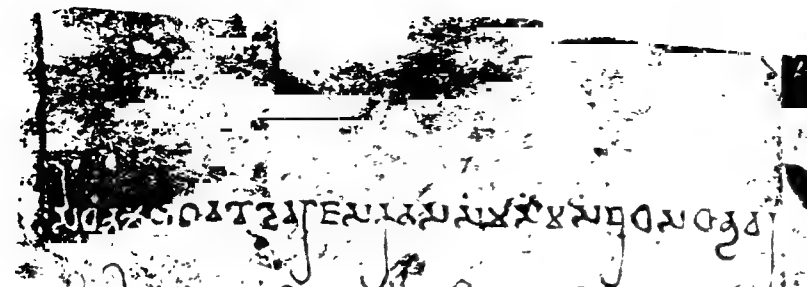
<sup>2</sup>Read : *sambudhasa*.

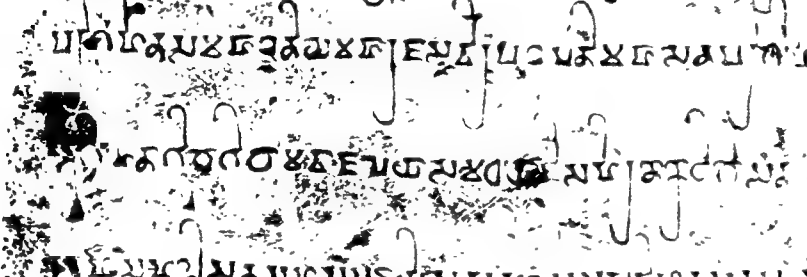
B-4.

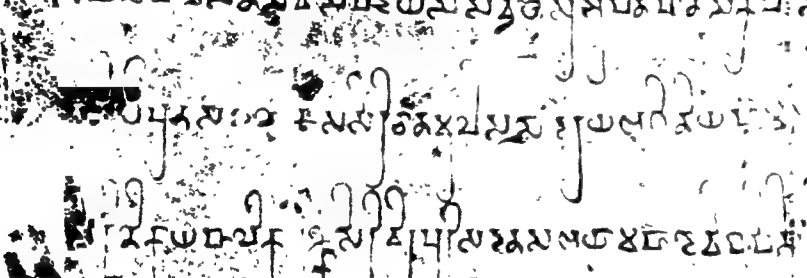


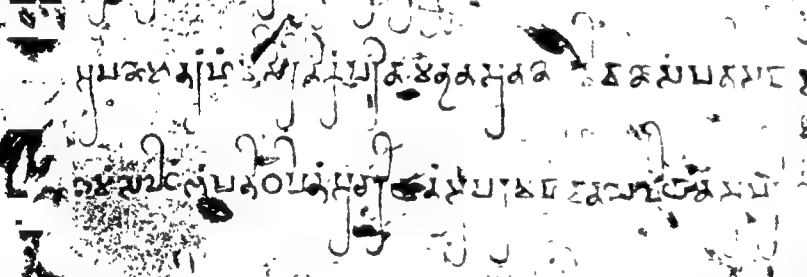
B-5.

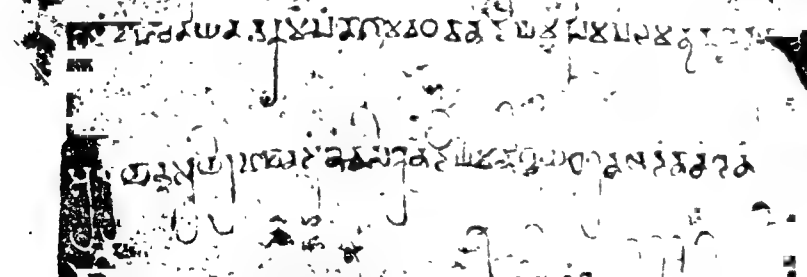


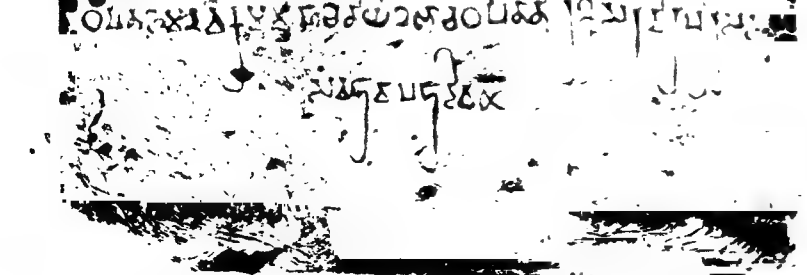
1.  1


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6.  6

7.  7

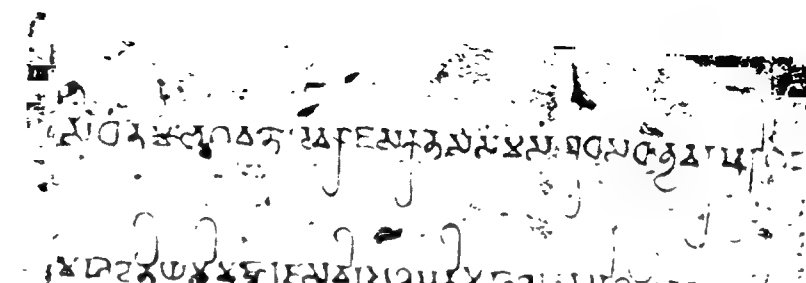
8.  8

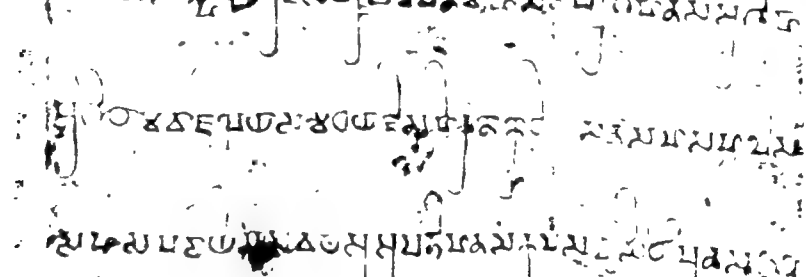
9.  9

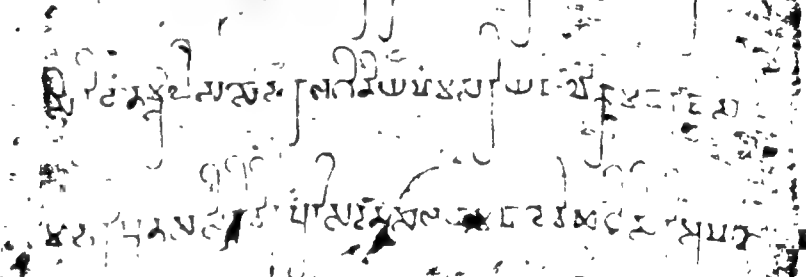
10.  10

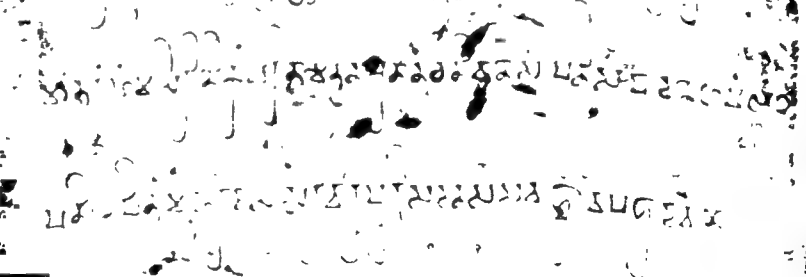
11.  11


12.  12


1.  1

2.  2

3.  3

4.  4

5.  5

6.  6

7.  7

8.  8

9.  9

10.  10

11.  11

12.  12

*Mahāsenāpatinī* Chula-Chāṭisiriṇikā, (who is) a daughter of (the family of) the Kulahakas, and the wife of the *Mahāsenāpati*, the *Mahātalavara*, Vāsithīputa Kharṇdachalikireṇmaṇaka of (the family of) the Hiraṇṇakas, for the attainment by herself of welfare and happiness in both the worlds and of Nirvāṇa has erected this stone pillar. In the 6th year of (the reign of) King Siri-Virapurisadata, the 6th fortnight of the rainy season, the 10th day.

*Āyaka-pillar inscription B 5.*

#### TRANSCRIPT.

(l. 1) Sidham namo bhagavato devarāja-sakatasa supabudha-bodhino savamūno sava-sat-  
[ānu-<sup>\*</sup>] (l. 2) kampakasa jita-rāga-dosa-moha-vipamutasa mahāgaṇi-vasabha-gaṇḍha-hadhisa<sup>1</sup>  
(l. 3) saṃma-sambudhasa dhātuvara-parigahitasa mahāchetiye Ujanikā<sup>2</sup> mahārabalikā<sup>3</sup> (l. 4)  
mahādevi Rudradharabhaṭ[ā]rikā imam sela-khaṃbham apano hita-sukha-nivāṇadhanāya<sup>4</sup>  
patith[ā]pitam (l. 5) mahātalavarihi cha Pūkiyānam Chāṭisiriṇikāhi imasa mahāvihārassa  
mahāchetiyaṃ<sup>5</sup> (l. 6) samuthapiyamāne mahātalavariā ubhayitā dināri-māsakā satari-satam  
100[+<sup>\*</sup>]70<sup>6</sup> khambho cha (l. 7) raṃṇo Siri-Virapurisadatasa saṃva 6 vā pa 6 diva 10

#### TRANSLATION.

Success ! Adoration to the Lord, etc. (see above, sub B 4). At the Mahāchetiya the Mahādēvī Rudradharabhaṭārikā, a Mahārāja's daughter from Ujjenī (Skt. Ujjayinī) has erected this stone pillar for the attainment by herself of welfare and happiness and Nirvāṇa. And while the Mahāchetiya of this Great Vihāra was being raised by the ladies, the *Mahātalavaris*, Chāṭisiriṇikā of (the family of) the Pūkiyas, one hundred and seventy (100+70) *dināri-māsakas* and a pillar have been raised by the *Mahātalavari*.<sup>6</sup> In the 6th year of (the reign of) King Siri-Virapurisadata, the 6th fortnight of the rainy season, the 10th day.

*Āyaka-pillar inscription C 2.*

#### TRANSCRIPT.

(l. 1) Sidham namo bhagavato devarāja-sakatasa saṃma-saṃma-sambudhasa<sup>7</sup> dhātuvara-  
(l. 2) parigahitasa<sup>8</sup> Mahāchetiye mahārājasa Virūpakhapati-Mahāsena-parigahitasa (l. 3) Agihot-  
Āgithogithoma<sup>9</sup> Vājapey-Āsamedha-yājisa hiraṇa-koṭi-go-sata- (l. 4) sahāsa-hala-satasahasā-  
padāyisa savathesu apatihata-saṃkapasa (l. 5) Vāsithīputasa Ikhākusa Siri-Chāṭamūlssa  
sodarāya bhaginiya Hāmma- (l. 6) sirimṇikāya bālikā raṃṇo Siri-Virapurisadatasa bhayā  
mahādevi Bapisiriṇikā (l. 7) apano mātaram Hāmmasiriṇikam parinamatuna<sup>10</sup> atane<sup>11</sup> cha  
nivāṇa-saṃpati-saṃpādake (l. 8) imam sela-thaṃbham patithapitam achari[yā]nam Aparā-  
mahāvīnaseliyānam superigahita[m<sup>\*</sup>] (l. 9) imam Mahāchetiya-navakamam Paṃṇagāma-  
vathavānam Dīgha-Majhima-paṃḍa<sup>12</sup> m[ā]tuka-desa[ka-vā<sup>\*</sup>][chakānam] (l. 10) arayāna[m]<sup>13</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Read : *hathisa*.

<sup>2</sup> Read : *Ujenikā*.

<sup>3</sup> Read : *mahārāja-bālikā*.

<sup>4</sup> Read : *nivāṇathanāya*.

<sup>5</sup> Read : *mahāchetiye*.

<sup>6</sup> The meaning probably is that the Queen Rudradharabhaṭārikā, besides dedicating a pillar, contributed a sum of 170 *dināri-māsakas* towards the expenses incurred by Chāṭisiri for the building of the *stūpa*.

<sup>7</sup> *saṃma*- has been written twice by mistake.

<sup>8</sup> Perhaps *parigamhata*.

<sup>9</sup> The two *aksaras* *gi tho* have been written twice by mistake.

<sup>10</sup> Read : *parināmetūna(m)*.

<sup>11</sup> Read : *atano*.

<sup>12</sup> Read : *paṃcha* (cf. above, C I, l. 11).

<sup>13</sup> Read : *āchariyānam*.

Āyira-haghāna[m] amtevasikena Digha-Manigaya<sup>1</sup>-dharena bhadañit-Ānañdena (l. 11) niṭṭhapita[m] ima[m] navakama[m] mahāchetiya[m] khambhā cha ṭṭhapitā ti rañño Siri-Virapurisadatasa<sup>2</sup> (l. 12) saṁva 6 vā pa 6 diva 10

#### TRANSLATION.

Success! Adoration to the Lord, the supreme Buddha, honoured by the Lord of the gods, absorbed by the best of elements. At the Mahāchetiya the Mahādevi Bapasiriṇikā (*who is*) the daughter of Hammasiriṇikā, the uterine sister of Mahārāja Vāsīṭhiputa Ikhāku Siri-Chāntamūla, etc., (see sub C 3) and (*who is*) the wife of King Siri-Virapurisadata, with due regard for her mother Hammasiriṇikā, and for the sake of attainment by herself of the bliss of Nirvāṇa, has erected this stone pillar. For the benefit of the Masters of the Aparamahāvīnaseliya sect has this pious foundation of the Mahāchetiya been accepted. This pious foundation, consisting of the Mahāchetiya, has been completed and the pillars have been set up by the Reverend Ānanda, who knows the *Digha*- and the *Majjhima*-(*nikāyas*) (?) by heart, (*who is*) a disciple of the Masters of the Ārya-saṅgha who are resident in Paṇṇagāma and who are preachers and preceptors of the *Digha* and the *Majjhima*-(*nikāyas*), and of the five *Mātukas*. In the 6th year of (*the reign of*) King Siri-Virapurisadata, the 6th fortnight of the rainy season, the 10th day.

#### Āyaka-pillar inscription C 4.

#### TRANSCRIPT.

(l. 1) Sidham namo bhagavato devārāja-sakatasa<sup>1</sup> saṁma-saṁbudhasa dhātuvāra-parigamhitasa (l. 2) mahādetiyamhi<sup>2</sup> mahārājasa Virūpakhapati-Mahāsena-parigamhitasa Agihāta<sup>3</sup> (l. 3) Agiṭhoma-Vājapey-Āsamedha-vāṇisa hiraṁṇa-koṭi-go-satasahasas-hala sata- (l. 4) sahasa-padāyisa savathesu apatibata-saṁkapasa Vāsīṭhiputasa Ikhākusa (l. 5) Siri-Chāntamūlasa sodarā-bhaginiya Hammasariya<sup>4</sup> bālikā mahārājasa (l. 6) Māḍhariputasa Siri-Virapurisadatasa bhayā mahādevi Chhaṭṭhisiri apano (l. 7) mātaram Hammasiriṇikā parināmetuna atanam<sup>5</sup> cha nivāṇa-saṁpati-saṁpādake imam bhāṁkham<sup>7</sup> (l. 8) paṭṭhapitam mahārājasa Siri-Virapurisadatasa sava 6 vā pa 6 diva<sup>8</sup> 10

#### TRANSLATION.

Success! Adoration to the Lord, etc., (see above, sub C 2) the Mahādevi Chhaṭṭhisiri (Skt. Shash-ṭhīrī), (*who is*) the daughter of Hammasiri, the uterine sister of Mahārāja Vāsīṭhiputa Ikhāku Siri-Chāntamūla, etc., (see above, sub C 3) and (*who is*) the wife of Mahārāja Māḍhariputa Siri-Virapurisadata, with due regard for her mother Hammasiriṇikā and for the sake of attainment by herself of the bliss of Nirvāṇa, has erected this pillar. In the 6th year of (*the reign of*) King Siri-Virapurisadata, the 6th fortnight of the rainy season, the 10th day.

#### Āyaka-pillar inscription C 5.

#### TRANSCRIPT.

(l. 1) Sidham namo bhagavato saṁma-saṁbu[dha\*]sa dhātuvāra-parigamhitasa Mahāchetiya- (l. 2) mahāsenaṇāpatisa mahātalavarasa Vāsīṭhiputasa Pūkiyānam Mahākāṇḍasirisasa (l. 3)

<sup>1</sup> Read *Digha-Majjhima-nikāya-dharena* (cf. above, C 1, l. 12).

<sup>2</sup> Read: *Siri-Vira*

<sup>3</sup> Read: *mahāchetiyaṁhi*.

<sup>4</sup> Read: *Agihot-Ā°*.

<sup>5</sup> Read: *siriya*.

<sup>6</sup> Read: *atano*.

<sup>7</sup> Read: *khambham*.

<sup>8</sup> Read: *diva*.

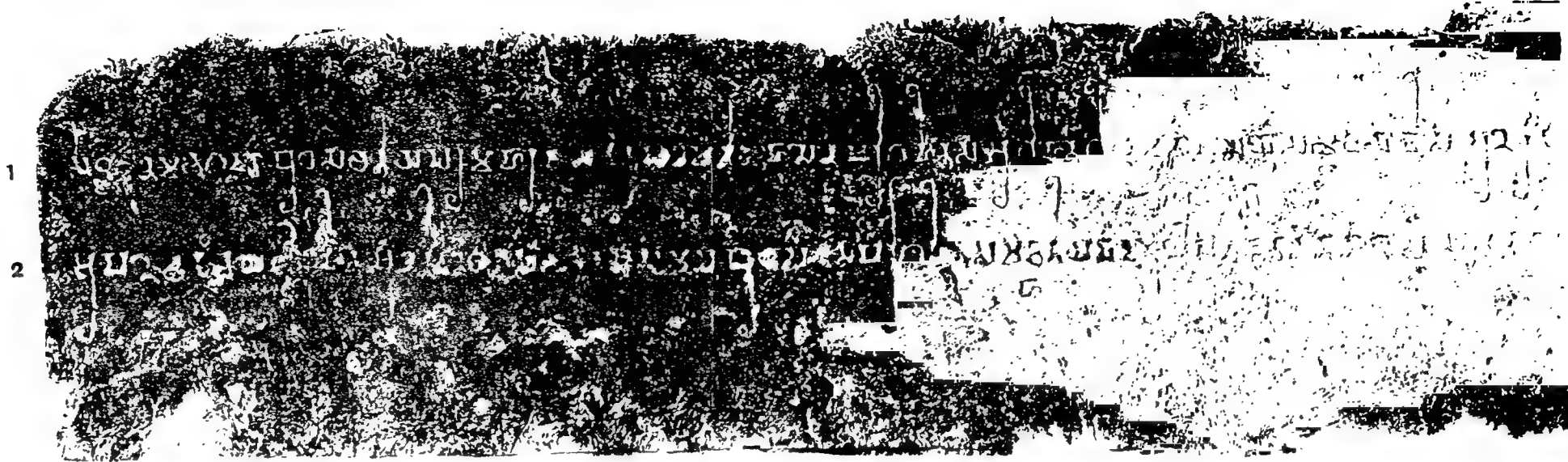
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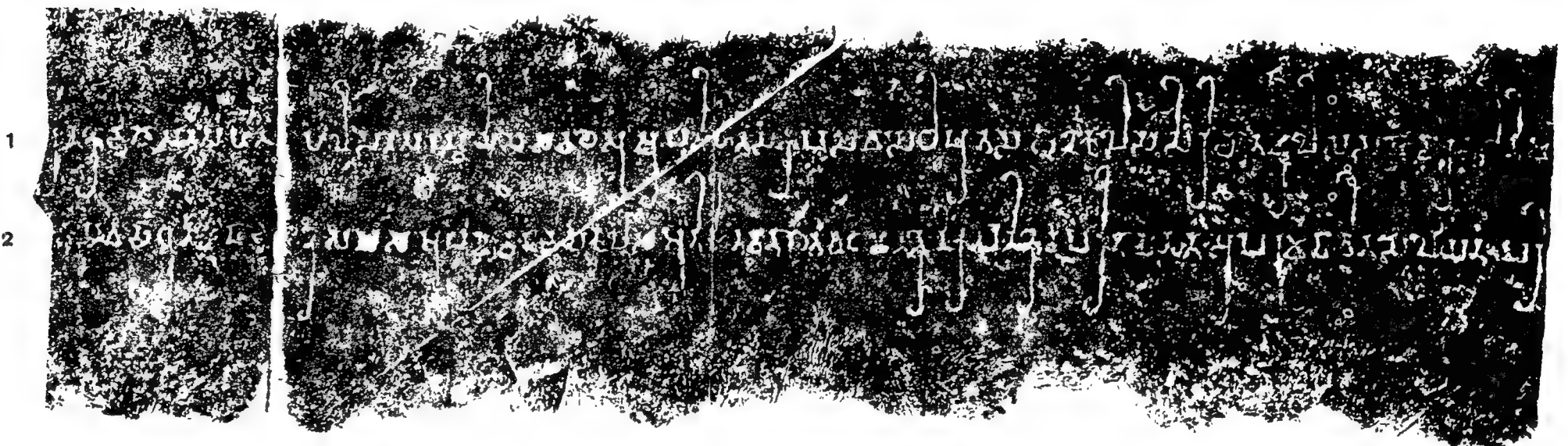
PRAKRIT INSCRIPTIONS FROM A BUDDHIST SITE AT NAGARJUNIKONDA (III).

E. SECTION-1.

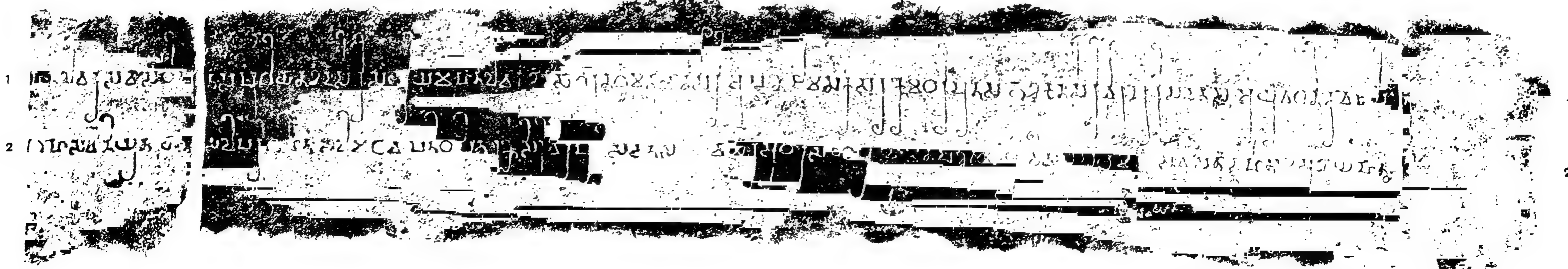
C-5.



E. SECTION-2.



E. SECTION-3.



bhayā mahāsenāpatisa mahātalavarasa Viṇhusirisa mātā mahātalavari apano (l. 4) ubhaya-kulam parināmetu[na\*] atano ubhaya-loka-hita-sukha-nivāṇathaya cha imam (l. 5) sela-khambham patithapitam mahārājasa Siri-Virapurisadatasa sativa 6 vā pa 6 diva 10

## TRANSLATION.

Success! Adoration to the Lord, the Supreme Buddha, absorbed by the best of elements. At the Mahāchetiya the *Mahātalavari* (who is) the wife of the *Mahāsenāpati*, the *Mahātalavara* Vāsethiputa Mahākarūdasiri of (the family of) the Pūkiyas and (who is) the mother of the *Mahāsenāpati*, the *Mahātalavara* Viṇhusiri (Skt. Vishnūśrī), with due regard to both the families to which she belongs, and for the sake of her own welfare and happiness in both the worlds and Nirvāṇa, has erected this stone pillar. In the 6th year of (the reign of) Mahārāja Siri-Virapurisadata, the 6th fortnight of the rainy season, the 10th day.

First Apical Temple inscription E.

## TRANSCRIPT.

(l. 1) Sidham namo bhagavato Budhasa chetiya-ghara mahārājasa Virūpakhapati-Mahā-sena-parigahitasa Agihot-[ā]githoma-Vājapey-Āśamedha-yājisa aneka-hirana-koṭi-go-satasahas-hala-satasa[hasa\*]-padāyisa savathesu apatihata-saṅkapasa Vāsethiputasa Ikhākulasa<sup>1</sup> Siri-Chātamūlasa sahodar[ā] - bhagini mahātalavarasa Vāsethiputasa Pugiyāna[m\*] Khamdasirisa bhariy[ā] mahātalavari Khamdasāgarānaga-m[ā]tā Chātisiri apano jām-[ā]tukasa raño M[ā]tbariputasa Ikh[ā]kunam Siri-Virapurisadatasa ayu-vaṭhanike vejayike (l. 2) apano cha ubhaya-[loka]-hita-sukha-[nivāṇathanāya sarīma-sambudhasa dhā-]\* tu-parigahitasa mahāchetiya-pādamūle<sup>2</sup> pavajitānam nānā-desā-samanāgatānam sava-sādhūnam mahābhikhu-sa[m]ghasa apa[no] cha u-]bhaya-kulasa atichhita[m]-janāgata-vaṭamānake nikapēnike cha parināmetunam Aparamahāvinaseliy[ā]nam parigabe sava-niyuta[m] chātusala-parigahitam<sup>3</sup> sela-maṇṭava[m] patith[ā]pitam raṇṇo Siri-Virapurisadatasa samvachharam aṭhāra sam 10[+\*]<sup>3</sup> hemamta-pakham chhaṭham 6 divasam paṇchamam 5 sava-satānam hit[ā]ya sukhāya hotu ti

## TRANSLATION.

Success! Adoration to the Lord Buddha. A *chetiya-ghara* (*chaitya-hall*). Chātisiri (who is) the uterine sister of Mahārāja Vāsethiputa Siri-Chātamūla of the house of Ikhāku, who is favoured (absorbed ?) by Mahāsena, the lord of Virūpakhas, the offerer of Agnihōtra, Agnishtōma, Vājapēya and Āśvamēdha, the giver of many crores of gold, hundred thousands of kine, and hundred thousands of ploughs (of land) and who is of unimpeded purpose in all (his) aims, (who is) the wife of Vāsethiputa Khamdasiri of (the family of) the Pugiyas and (who is) the mother of Khamdasāgarānaga, for the longevity and for the victory of her son-in-law, King Mātbariputa, Siri-Virapurisadata of the house of Ikhāku and for the attainment by herself of welfare and happiness in both the worlds and of Nirvāṇa, having due regard to the past, future and present bliss (?) of the great community of Buddhist monks consisting of all the holy men who have renounced the world and who have penetrated (?) into various countries, and of both the houses to which she herself belongs, has erected a stone shrine surrounded by a cloister and provided

<sup>1</sup> Probably *Ikhāku-kulasa*.

<sup>2</sup> The *aksharas* placed between square brackets are still partly traceable.

<sup>3</sup> The *akshara* *hā* is written under the line.

<sup>4</sup> Read : *chaituāla*.



with everything at the foot of the Mahāchetiya for the benefit of the Masters belonging to the sect of the Aparamahāvinaseliyas. In the eighteenth year, anno 18, of King Siri-Virapurisadata, in the sixth—6th—fortnight of winter, on the fifth—5th—day. May it be for the welfare and happiness of all sentient beings.

*Second Apsidal Temple inscription F.*

**TRANSCRIPT.**

(l. 1) Sidham namo bhagavato Ikhāku-rāja-pavara-risi-sata-pabhava-vamsa-sambhava-  
deva-manusa-sava-sata-hita-sukha-maga-desikasa jita-kāma-kodha-bhaya-harisa-tarisa-moha-  
dosa-sada(ā)pita<sup>1</sup>. Māra-bala-dapa-māna-pasamana-karasa dasa-bala-maha(ā)balasa aṭha[m\*]-  
ga-maga-dhamachaka-pavata-kasa chaka-lakhṇa-sukumāra-sujāta-charaṇasa taruṇa-divasa-  
kara-pabhasa sarada-sasi-soma-darisanasa sava-loka-chita-mahitasa Budhasa raṇṇo  
M[āṭha]riputasa<sup>2</sup>... 10[+\*]4 hemanta-pakham chhaṭham 6 divasaṃ teraṃ 10[+\*]3... ta [rā]-  
jāchariyānam<sup>3</sup> Kasmira-Gaṇdhāra-Chīna-Chilāta-Tosali-Avaramta-Vaṅga-Vanavāsi-Yava[na-]  
Da[mila-Pa]lura<sup>4</sup> Tāmbapaṇṇi-dīpa-pas[ā]dakānam theriyānam Tāmbapa[m]nakānam  
suparigahe (l. 2) Siripavate Vijayapuriya-puva-disā-bhāge vihāre Chula-Dhammagiriyaṃ  
chetiya-gharaṃ sapata-samtharaṃ sachetiyaṃ sava-niyutaṃ kāritaṃ uvāsikāya Bodhisiriya  
apāno bhatuno Budhi[m]nakasa pituno cha se Govagāma-vathavasa Revata-gahapatisa  
mātuya cha sa Budhamnikāya bhātunam cha se Chamdamukhanasa Karumbudhinasa  
Haghamnasa bhaginiya cha Revatimnikāya bhātu-putānam cha Mahā-Chamdamukha-Chula-  
Chamdamukhānam bhāgineyānam cha Mahā-Mūla-Chula-Mūlānam apāno cha ayakasa  
Mūlavānīyasa ayikāya Budhavānikī[nāya] mātulaka<sup>5</sup>[sa cha] koṭh[ā]kārīkasa Bhada-  
Bodhisammasa Chamdasa Bodhikasa mahāmātukāya Bhadulāya Bodhiya cha apāno  
pituno Budhi[vā]niyasa m[ātuya]... (l. 3) bhātuno Mūlasa bhaginīnam Budhamnikāya  
Mūlānikāya Nāgabodhinikāya cha dhūtuya Virāṇnikāya putānam Nāgamnasa Virāṇnasa  
cha sumhānam cha Bhadasiri-Misīnam evam-eva cha Kulaha-vihāre chetiya-gharaṃ Sihā-  
vihāre bodhi-rukha-pāsādo Mahā-Dhammagiriyaṃ ovarako 1 mahāvi[hā\*]re maṇḍava-  
khambho Devagiriyaṃ padhāna-sālā Puvasale talākam s[am]dā<sup>6</sup> ma[n\*]ḍavo cha Kamtakasele  
mahāchetiyasa puva-dāre sela-maṇḍavo Hirumuthuve ovarakā timṇi 3 Papiḷayaṃ cvarakā  
sata 7 Puphagiriya[m] sela-maṇḍavo Dham<sup>7</sup>... vihāre sela-ma[m]ḍavo etaṃ cha savam  
uvarivaṇṇi<sup>8</sup>[taṃ...sā]dhu-vagasa<sup>9</sup> achanta<sup>10</sup> hita-sukhāya thavitaṃ sava[sā] cha  
lokasa imam navakammanam timhi navaka[m]mikehi kāritaṃ Chamdamukha-therena cha  
(l. 4) Dhammanamdi-therena cha Nāga-therena cha sela-vaḍhākisa Vidhikasa kamman ti

<sup>1</sup> [I would read °moha-dosasa dapita-Māra°—Ed.]

<sup>2</sup> The akshara ṭha of Māthariputasa is partly preserved. After this word some five or six aksharas are lost. In the absence of any traces of i strokes, the missing word cannot have been Siri-Purisadata. In all probability it was samvachcharam, followed by a word expressing "fourteenth" (chodam?).

<sup>3</sup> Perhaps bhadamta-rāj-āchariyānam?

<sup>4</sup> The words which I read Yavana-Damila-Palura are not quite certain. The Da of Damila is still legible and the long-drawn top strokes of the remaining two aksharas have led me to the conjectural reading mila, the body of the akshara m being partly preserved. The Pa of Palura is conjectural.

<sup>5</sup> The akshara sa of mātulakasa is conjectural. As the word is followed by several personal names in the genitive case, one would expect mātulakānam, but the akshara ka shows no trace of an ā-stroke.

<sup>6</sup> Perhaps sela-maṇḍa.

<sup>7</sup> Some ten aksharas are lost after dham.

<sup>8</sup> The akshara taṃ is conjectural. Perhaps tasa.

<sup>9</sup> The first akshara sā has been restored tentatively. The u-stroke of dāu is still faintly visible.

<sup>10</sup> The aksharas which I read achanta- (Skt. atyanta) are indistinct.

## TRANSLATION.

Success! Adoration to the Lord Buddha, born of a race (*which is*) sprung from hundreds of sages and excellent kings of Ikṣvāku's lineage; who has shown the road to welfare and happiness to gods and men and all beings, who has conquered and put down the pride and arrogance of Māra's hosts called lust, anger, fear, desire, thirst, delusion, and hatred; who, great of power, is possessed of the ten powers, who has set in motion the Wheel-of-the-Law (*pertaining to*) the Eight-fold Path, whose graceful and well-formed feet (*are marked with*) the sign of the Wheel, whose splendour is that of the newly risen sun, whose sight is lovely as that of the autumnal moon, and who is magnified by the thoughts of all the world. In the fourteenth—14th—(year) of King Mātharīputa, in the sixth—5th—fortnight of winter, on the thirteenth—13th—day. For the benefit of the . . . . masters and of the fraternities (*of monks*) of Taṃbapaṇṇa (Ceylon) who have converted Kashmīr, Gandhāra, China, Chīlāta (=Skt. Kīrāta), Tosali, Avaramita (=Skt. Aparānta), Vaṅga, Vanavāsi, Yavana(?), Dāmila(?), Palura(?) and the Isle of Taṃbapaṇṇi (Ceylon). At Siripavata (=Skt. Śrīparvata) on the east side of Vijayapuri at the Convent on the Lesser Dhammagiri a *chaitya*-hall with a flooring of slabs, with a *chaitya* and provided with all the necessities, was caused to be made by the female lay-member Bodhisiri (Skt. Bōdhisiri) for the sake of her own husband Budhinnaka, and of his father, the householder Revata residing at Govagāma and of his mother Budhamnikā and of his brothers Chaṃdamukha, Karumbudhina (*and*) Haghamna and of (*his*) sister Revatinnikā and of (*his*) brother's sons Mahā-Chaṃdamukha (=Skt. Mahā-Chandramukha) and Chula-Chaṃdamukha (=Skt. Kshudra-Chandramukha) and of (*his*) sister's sons Mahā-Mūla and Chula-Mūla, and (*for the sake*) of her own grandfather Mūla-vāṇiya and of her grandmother Budhavāṇikinā and of her maternal uncle(s) (?), the treasurer<sup>1</sup> Bhada (=Skt. Bhadra), Bodhisamma (=Skt. Bōdhisārman), Chaṃda (=Skt. Chandra) (*and*) Bodhika, and of her maternal grandmother . . . . . Bodhi and of her own father Budhivāṇiya and of her mother (?) . . . ., of her brother Mūla, of her sisters Budhamnikā, Mūlamnikā, and Nāgabodhinikā, of her daughter Virāṇnikā, of her sons Nāgaṇṇa and Virāṇṇa and of her daughters-in-law Bhadasiri (=Skt. Bhadrāsiri) and Misi (=Skt. Mīsiri). And even thuswise a *chaitya*-hall at the Kulaha-vihāra, a shrine for the Bodhi-tree at the Sihaja-vihāra one—1—cell at the Great Dhammagiri, a *maṇḍava*-pillar at the Mahāvihāra, a hall for religious practice at the Devagiri, a tank, verandah<sup>2</sup> and *maṇḍava* at Puvaseḷa (=Skt. Pūrvaśaila), a stone *maṇḍava* at the eastern gate of the Great Chaitya at Kaṇṭakasela<sup>3</sup> (=Skt. Kaṇṭakaśaila), three—3—cells at Hirumuṭhuva, seven—7—cells at Papilā, a stone *maṇḍava* at Puphagiri (=Skt. Pushpagiri), . . . . . a stone *maṇḍava* at the . . . . . vihāra. And all this above described has been dedicated for the endless welfare and happiness of the assembly of saints and for that of the whole world. This work was caused to be made by the three superintendents of works, the *thera* Chaṃdamukha, and the *thera* Dhammanandi and the *thera* Nāga. (*It is*) the work of the stone mason Vidhika.

## Detached Pillar inscription G.

TRANSCRIPT.<sup>4</sup>

- (1. 1) [Si]dham namo bhagavato teloka-dhamma-dhurā-vahaea mahārājs[sa Virū-]  
(1. 2) [pa]kṣapati-Mahāsena-parigahitasa Agihot-Āgithoma-[Vājape-] (1. 3) y-Āsamedha-y-

<sup>1</sup> Koṭṭhākārika = Skt. kōṣṭhāgārika.

<sup>2</sup> If *ajamāda* is the correct reading, it may perhaps be taken for another form of Pali *ālinda* "a verandah or terrace".

<sup>3</sup> The vowel-mark of the fourth *alēvara* has the appearance of an o-stroke, but this I believe is due to an error not unfrequent in these inscriptions.

<sup>4</sup> The first half of the inscription has been restored with the aid of the corresponding passage in other inscriptions.

[ā]yi(ji)sa hiraṇṇa-koṭi-go-satasaha[sa-hala-ssta-] (l. 4) sahassa-padāi(yi)sa savathesu apatibata-saṅka[paśa]..(l. 5) [Vā]sethīputasa Ikhākunaṁ Siri-Chātamūlasa suṇ[hā]ya [mahārāja-] (l. 6) sa Mādha[ri]putasa<sup>1</sup> Ikhākunaṁ Sir-Virapurisadatasā bhayaya<sup>2</sup> ma-(l. 7)hārājasa Siri-E[huvu]la-]Chātamūlasa<sup>3</sup> mātuya mahād[e]viya Bhaṭidevāya (l. 8).....[i]maṁ vihāro sava-jāta-niyuto<sup>4</sup> schariy[ā]naṁ Bahusutiyānaṁ (l. 9) paṭiṭhā[pito]....i ra pu naṁ budhiṇa<sup>5</sup>....[saṁvachharaṭṭi]..[bitiyam] (l. 10) [gimha-pakhaṁ].....sughāya ti<sup>6</sup>

## TRANSLATION.

Success! Adoration to the Lord, the Leader of the Law of the Three Worlds.—Mahādevī Bhaṭidevā(*who is*) the daughter-in-law of Mahārāja Vāsethīputa Siri-Chātamūla, of (*the house of*) the Ikhākus, etc. (see above, sub C 3); (*who is*) the wife of Mahārāja Mādharīputa Siri-Virapurisadata of the house of the Ikhākus; (*and who is*) the mother of Mahārāja Siri-Ehuvuḷa (?) Chātamūla, has erected.....this monastery provided with all essentials (?) for the Masters of the Bahusutīya sect.<sup>7</sup>

*Detached Pillar inscription H.*

## TRANSCRIPT.

(l. 1) Sidhaṁ namo bhagavato samā-saṁ- (l. 2) budhasa mahārājasa Vāsethīputasa (l. 3) Ikhākunaṁ Siri-Ehuvuḷa-[Chāta]mūlasa sava 10[+\*]1 (l. 4)....1 diva 7 mahārājasa Agihot-Āgidhema- Vājaveja<sup>8</sup> (l. 5) Asamedha-vāyi(ji)sa [aneka-jhiraṇṇa-koṭi-go-satasahasā- (l. 6) hāsa-satasahasā-pad[ā]y[i]sa savathesu apatihata- (l. 7) saṅkapasa Vāsethīputasa Ikhākuna-[in] Siri-Ch[ā]tamūla[sa] (l. 8) nattiya mahārājasa Mātharīputasa Siri-Virapurisa- (l. 9) datasā dhūtuya mahārājasa Vāsethīputasa Ikhākunaṁ (l. 10) Siri-Ehuvuḷa-Ch[ā]tamūla-[sa] bhagīniyā Vānavāsaka-mahārāja- (l. 11) mahādevi[ya] [Ko]da[ba]lisiriya imaṁ khaniyam vihāro cha (l. 12) achariyānaṁ Mahi[sā]sakānaṁ<sup>9</sup> suparigahe chātudisaṁ (l. 13) sa[m]ghaṁ udisāya sava-sātānaṁ hita-sukb[ā]ṭhaṁ ṭhāpitaṁ achariye- (l. 14) na mahā-dhaṁma-kāthik[e]na Dhaṁma[gho]sa-<sup>10</sup>therena anuthitaṁ ti

## TRANSLATION.

Success! Adoration to the Lord, the Supreme Buddha. In the 11th year of (*the reign of*) Mahārāja Vāsethīputa Siri-Ehuvuḷa-[Chāta]mūla of (*the house of*) the Ikhākus, the 1st (*fort-night of*...?), the 7th day. Mahādevī [Ko]da[ba]lisiri, (*who is*) the grand-daughter of Mahārāja Vāsethīputa, Siri-Chātamūla of (*the house of*) the Ikhākus, etc., (see above, C. 3); (*who is*) the daughter of Mahārāja Mātharīputa Siri-Virapurisadata of (*the house of*) the Ikhākus; (*who is*) the sister of Mahārāja Vāsethīputa Siri-Ehuvuḷa-Chātamūla of (*the house of*) the Ikhākus; and (*who is*) the wife of the Mahārāja of Vānavāsaka has erected this pillar and monastery

<sup>1</sup> The second *akshara* may be either *ḍa* or *dha*.

<sup>2</sup> This mutilated word can hardly be anything but *bhayāya*.

<sup>3</sup> The *aksharas* -*huvuḷa* are damaged owing to a crack, but *hu* is still legible.

<sup>4</sup> Or should we read *sava-jīna-niyuto*? The *akshara* following *sava-* is certainly *jā*. In the other inscriptions we find *savaniyuto*.

<sup>5</sup> [..... *Viraputanaṁbudhiṇa* . (proper name?) *raṇṇo* °—Ed.]

<sup>6</sup> The date appears to have been followed by a benedictory formula such as *sava-loka-hita-sukkhāya*.

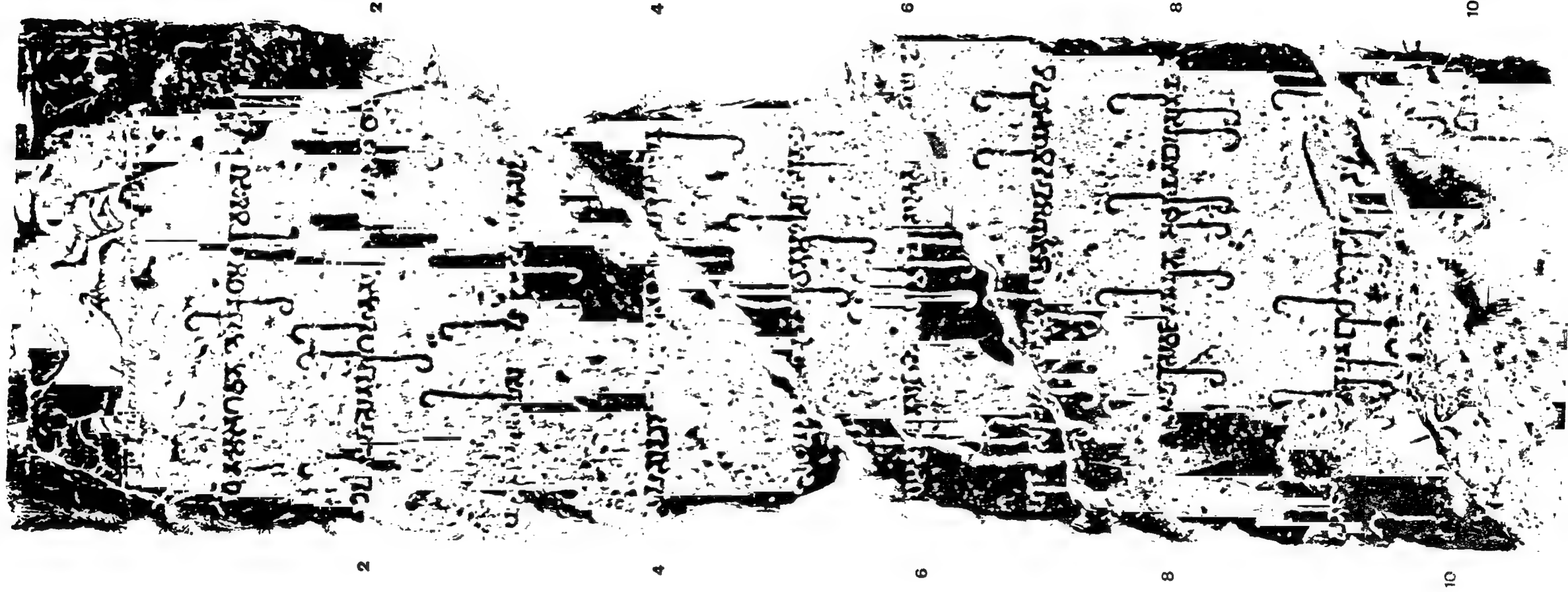
<sup>7</sup> Lines 9-10 seem to have contained a date, but are too much obliterated to allow of being deciphered.

<sup>8</sup> Read *Agihot-Agidhoma-Vājaveja*.

<sup>9</sup> The third syllable *sa* is still traceable.

<sup>10</sup> The third *akshara* has become very faint. At first I felt inclined to read *Dhaṁmayasa*, but the long horizontal *unao*-stroke which is still clear rather suggests the letter *gha*.

G.





for the benefit of the Masters of the Mahi[sā]śaka sect, on behalf of the community of the Four Quarters, and for the sake of the welfare and happiness of all sentient beings. (*It has been* carried out by the Master, the great preacher of the Law, the *thera* Dhamma[gho]sa.

*Sculpture inscription J.*<sup>1</sup>

TRANSCRIPT.

(l. 1) Sidham namo bhagavato aga-pogalasa Budhasa Chhadakapavatic[e]na Paduma-  
[vā]-niya gharaniya sagaya saputakānam Hagas[i]r[i]sa sagasa Nagatarasa cha sabhaja[sa]  
(l. 2) saputikāna[m] cha deyadham[o] paṭo unisa cha mahāchetiye paṭiḥ[ā]vito

TRANSLATION.

Success. Adoration to the Lord Buddha, the best of beings.

A meritorious gift (*consisting of*) a slab and a coping stone, has been dedicated at the Great Chaitya by Chhadakapavatica, Padumavānī his house-wife, together with their sons Hagasini and Nagatara with his wife and together with their daughters.

*Fragmentary Sculpture inscription K.*

TRANSCRIPT.

(l. 1).....saputak[ā]na[m] cha Dhamasa Padumasa cha [Bha]dasa Hughasa saput-  
[i]k[ā]na[m] cha.....had[ā]ya Budh[ā]ya Padumāya M[isā]ya Chula-Budh-  
[ā]ya N[ā]k[ā]ya cha saj[ā]m[ā]tuk[ā]na[m] san[ā]tuk[ā]na[m] sanat[i]na[m] cha sanādi-  
m[i]ta-ba[m]dhavāna[m] cha deyadham[o] paṭa niba sapadaka.<sup>2</sup>....

TRANSLATION.

.....together with his<sup>3</sup> sons Dhamas and Padumas, [Bha]das, Hughas and together with his daughters.....hadā, Budhā, Padumā, Misā, Chula-Budhā, and Nākā, together with his sons-in-law, together with his grandsons and granddaughters and together with his relatives, friends, and kinsmen, a meritorious gift (*consisting of*) a slab .....

*Postscript.*

*Extract from a letter dated Oslo, 2nd October, 1928, from Prof. Sten Konow, Ph.D.*

"In the first place I should like to draw your attention—perhaps unnecessarily—to the suffix *anaka* in *Viśākhanaka*, *Sāgarāṇnaka*, formed from Viśākha, Sāgara, respectively. This same suffix is frequent in names from the Bombay Presidency; cf. Lüders, Nos. 985, 993, 1000, 1018, 1020, 1033 (Kaṇheri), 1040, 1041 (Kuṇḍā), 1088, 1091, 1097 (Kārli), 1109, 1111, (Bedsa), 1141 (Nāsik), 1171 (Junnar). It evidently belongs to a dialect with a Dravidian, perhaps Kanarese, substratum. The *h* for *s* also points to Kanarese. Moreover, some of the names seem to find their explanation in Kanarese. Thus *kanda* means 'child' in Kanarese, and *chali* 'cold.' *Chalikireṇmaṇaka* probably is *Chalikiraṇaka*='Moon.' It also strikes me that Kanarese *karrambu* means 'envy.' I have not access to a Telugu dictionary. But it seems to me that Kanarese is more likely. The other characteristics which can be gleaned from your quotations do not help us. They show that we have to do with a Standard Prakrit, related to Pali, which was, as you know, used over a large territory. The change of *-p-* to *-v-* is

<sup>1</sup> The transcript and translation of inscriptions J and K should be regarded as provisional.

<sup>2</sup> Perhaps *sapāduka-paṭa*. [Perhaps the reading is 'paṭāni be sapādūkāni', meaning two slabs with foot-prints.—Ed.]

<sup>3</sup> His, her, or their, as the case may be.

general in most Prakrits and cannot be used for localizing the dialect. A similar language is also used in the Khāravela inscriptions. I would therefore be inclined to define the dialect of your inscriptions as follows: We are faced with a normalized semi-literary Prakrit, used by people whose home tongue was Dravidian, and probably Kanarese. If I am right, we should *a priori* be inclined to infer that the Ikkhākus had come to the Kistna country from the West. But all such conclusions are bound to be uncertain. *Khamda* is, as you say, probably = *Skanda*, and *Chānta* might be *Kshānta*, but might also have something to do with *Chāndaka*, the designation of some actors from Mathurā (Lüders, No. 85)."

## Glossary.

- aga-pogala* (J, l. 1), Pali *agga-puggala* = Skt. *agrya-pudgala*, an epithet of Buddha.
- Agihot-Agiṭhoma-Vājaṭṭe-Āsamedha-yājisa* (passim), an epithet of Siri-Chāntamūla. Cf. *Aggiṭhoma-Vājaṭṭe-Āsamedha-yājī* in the Hirahadagalli copper-plate grant of the Pallava king Śivaskandavarman, *Ep. Ind.* Vol. I, pp. 2 f. Also, *dvir-Āsvamedha-yājinaḥ* in the Śuṅga inscription from Ayōdhya. *J.B.O.R.S.* Vol. X, pp. 202 f.
- a[chānta]* (F, l. 3), i.e., *achānta* = Skt. *atyanta*.
- aṭṭhaṅga-maga-dhammachaka-pavataka* (F, l. 1), i.e., *aṭṭhaṅga-magga-dhammachakka-pavattaka* = Skt. *aṣṭāṅga-mārga-dharmachakra-pravartaka*, an epithet of Buddha.
- aṭṭhāra* (D, l. 2), "eighteenth."
- atichchhita*, i.e., *atichchhita* (A 3, l. 8; A 4, l. 9, etc.) always followed by *anāgata-vaṭṭamānake* or *\*mānakānam*. Cf. Pali *atichchhata* (Skt. *atī-richchhata*) which is only preserved in the expression *atichchhata bhante* "Please go on, Sir." The past participle *atichchhita*, therefore, stands for the usual *atīta*.
- Aḍavi-Chāntisiri* (B, 2, l. 5), a personal name. The second *akshara* is possibly *ḍa*.
- anuthūam* (H, l. 14). Cf. Pali *anuthūta* (=Skt. *anushūta*), past participle of *anuthūta*, meaning "carried out, effected."
- aneka-hiraṇya-koṭi-go-satasā[hasa]-hala-satasahasā-padāyī* (F, l. 1), i.e., *aneka-hiraṇya-koṭi-go-satasahasā-hala-satasahasā-ppadāyī*, epithet of Siri-Chāntamūla. Cf. *aneka-hiroga-koṭi-go-hala-satasahasā-ppadāyīno* in the Hirahadagalli grant, ll. 10-11, and *aneka-gō-hiraṇya-bhūmy-ādi-pradānāḥ praviddha-dharmasāṅghayasya* . . . . . *mahārāja-Śrī-Skandavarmanah* in the Pikira grant of Simhavarman, *Ep. Ind.* Vol. VIII, p. 161 ll. 5-6. Cf. also *tri-go-satasahasadēna* in Kārlē inscriptions, *Ep. Ind.* Vol. VII, p. 57, and *tri-go-satasahasradēna* in Nāsik inscriptions, *Ep. Ind.* Vol. VIII, p. 78.
- anūterāsika* (C 1, l. 12; C 2, l. 10), Pali *anūtesī*, (Skt. *anūtesī*) "a disciple."
- avathesu* *apatihata-saṅkapa* = Skt. *sarvārthe* . . . , *apratihata-saṅkalpa*, epithet of Siri-Chāntamūla. Cf. *appatihata-sāsaṇassa* in the Hirahadagalli grant, l. 10.
- Aparamahāvīnaseḷiya* (C 1, l. 10; C 2, l. 8; E, l. 2), name of a Buddhist sect. See above, p. 10. The name presumably is identical with Pali *Aparaseḷiya*, Skt. *Aparasāḷiya*, a subdivision of the Theravāda. Cf. M. Walleser, *Die Sekten des alten Buddhismus* p. 7; but cf. p. 21.
- ayaka* (F, l. 2), i.e., *ayyaka* = Skt. *āryaka*.
- ayikā* (F, l. 2), i.e., *ayyikā* = Skt. *āryikā*.
- ayira-haṅgha* (C 1, l. 11; C 2, l. 10) = Skt. *ārya-saṅgha*. Cf. *ayira, aīra* in Amarāvati inscriptions, Lüders, *List*, Nos. 1276 and 1280.
- ayya-vāḍhanike vejayike* (E, l. 1). Cf. *appaṇa kula-gottasa dham-āyu-bala-yaso-vāḍhanikā vija-ya-vejayike* "while he made (the gift) a means of the increase of the merits."

longevity, power and fame of (his) own family and race." (Bühler) in the Hira-  
hadagalli grant of the Pallava king Śivaskandavarman, l. 9, *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. I,  
p. 6; *amha-vejayike* [*dhām*]-*m-āyu-bala-vaddhanike* "for conferring on ourselves  
victory (in war) and for increasing (our) merit, length of life, and power".  
(Hultsch) in the Mayidavōlu plates of Śivaskandavarman, *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VI, p. 87;  
*amham āyu-bala-vaddhanīyam-kātūṇa* "making (it) a means for increasing our  
length of life and power." (Hultsch) in the British Museum plate of Chārudēvi,  
*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VIII, p. 146. The Sanskrit equivalent of the term is found  
in the Chammak and Siwanī grants of Pravarasena II (*Gupta Inscriptions*,  
pp. 238 and 246) and in the Uruvapalli grant (*Ind. Ant.*, Vol. V, p. 52). Cf.  
also *chhatrapasa saputra-darasa ayu-bala-vardhis* in the Taxila plate of Patika (*Ep.*  
*Ind.*, Vol. IV, p. 56) and *J. R. A. S.* for 1924, p. 402.

*ālindā* (F, l. 3), perhaps Skt. *ālinda* m. "a terrace in front of the house-door," Pali  
*ālinda* "a terrace or verandah outside a house." *Mahāvagga*, VI, 36, 4=  
*Vinaya Piṭakam* (ed. Oldenberg) Vol. I, pp. 247 f.; *Chullavagga*, VI, 3, 5 and  
14, 1=*Vin. Piṭ.*, Vol. II, pp. 153 and 169. The *ālinda* is not necessarily a  
terrace or verandah outside a building, as is proved by *Mahāvamsa* XXXV,  
3, *Tatheva Lohapāsāde Thūpārāṃvuposathavhaye kuchchhi-ājiram kāresi kuchchhi*  
*ālindam eva cha* "He made an inner courtyard and an inner verandah in the  
Lohapāsāda." Cf. P. K. Acharya, *Dictionary of Hindu Architecture*, pp. 54 ff.,  
and A. K. Coomaraswamy, *J.A.O.S.*, Vol. XLVIII, p. 252.

*āchariya* (C 1, ll. 10 and 11), written with short initial *a* in line 8 of inscription C 2  
=Skt. *āchārya*, Pali *āchariya*, "a teacher."

*Ananda* (C 1, l. 12; C 2, l. 10), i.e., *Ananda*, a personal name.

*Ikkāku*, i.e., *Ikkhāku*=Skt. *Ikskvāku*, Pali *Okkāka*, the legendary progenitor of the Solar  
race.

*Ikkhāku-rāja-pavara-risī-sata-pabhava-vamsa-sambhava* (F, l. 1)=Skt. *Ikskvāku-rāja-pravara-rshi-*  
*sata-prabhava-vamsa-sambhava*, an epithet of the Buddha.

*udisāya* (H, l. 13). Cf. Skt. *uddīśya*, Pali *uddissa* (absol. of *ud-disati*) "to point out",  
"on behalf of, on account of."

*unisa* (J, l. 2)=Skt. *uśnīṣa*, "a coping-stone." Frequently met with in Amarāvati  
inscriptions. The word appears to designate not only the coping-stone which  
forms the crowning member of the railing enclosing the *stūpa*, but also the  
frieze running along the top of the sculptured facing of such a monument.  
Cf. Acharya, *op. cit.*, pp. 99 f.

*ubhaya-loka-hita-sukha-nivāpathanāya* (A 3, l. 8, etc., passim) and *ubhaya-loka-hita-sukhā-*  
*vaśatthakāyāya* (B 2, l. 5). Cf. Spence Hardy, *Eastern Monachism*, p. 229.

*ubbhayita* (B 5, l. 6), i.e., *ubbhayita*=Skt. \**ūrdhvaṇita* from *ubbha*=Skt. *ūrdhva*. Cf. Pischel,  
*Grammatik*, § 300.

*uvavivamṇi*[*tan*] (F, l. 3)=Skt. *uparivarnikam*.

*uvāsikā* (F, l. 2)=Skt. *upāsikā*.

*ovaraka* (F, l. 3) "a cell"=Skt. \**apavaraka*. Cf. Lüders, *List; Index an. opavaraka*,  
*uyaraka*, *uvavaraka*, *ovaraka*.

*Kandamiri* (A 2, l. 6, etc., passim), a personal name.

*Karumbudhūva* (F, l. 2), a personal name.

*kavapa* (A 3, l. 6; etc.)=Skt. *kṛpapa*, Pali *kappapa*, "poor, miserable, wretched, a  
beggar."



*Kuṭakala* (B 4, l. 3), name of a clan.

*K'akha-vihāra* (F, l. 3), name of a monastery.

*koṭhāgārika* (F, l. 2)=Skt. *kōṣṭhāgārika*. "a treasurer, a superintendent of a royal store house." Cf. *koṭhagala* in Sohgaure copper-plate inscription (Lüders, *List*, No. 937).

*[Ko]ḍa[ba]ḷisiri* (H, l. 11), a personal name.

*khāṇiga* (H, l. 12) "a pillar" (?). Cf. Pali *khāṇu*. Childers, *Pali Dictionary*, sub *Corrigenda*, p. 622, under *khāṇu*.

*Khaṇḍa*, i.e., *Khaṇḍa* (in personal names)=Skt. *Skanda*.

*Khaṇḍa:chalikiraṇaka* (B 4, l. 4), a personal name. Dr. Sten Konow suggests Kanarese *chalikiraṇaka*=moon, from Kanarese *chali*=cold.

*Khaṇḍavis'khaṇaka* (B 2, l. 4)=Skt. *Skanda-viśākha*, a personal name.

*Khaṇḍasāgara[m]ṇaka* (A 3, l. 7, etc.) and *Khaṇḍasāgarāmṇaga* (E, l. 1)=Skt. *Skanda-sāgara*, a personal name.

*khaṇḍha*, i.e., *khambha* (passim), "a pillar," from Vedic *skambha*. Cf. Pischel, *Grammatik*, § 396. Also in *sela-khaṇḍha* (q.v.).

*gahapati* (F, l. 2)=Skt. *grihapati*.

*charani* (J, l. 1)=Skt. *grihṇī*.

*chakra-lakhaṇa-sukarmāra-sujātu-charaṇa* (F, l. 1)=Skt. *chakra-lakṣhaṇa*<sup>2</sup>, an epithet of the Buddha.

*Chāṇḍamukha* (F, l. 3)=Skt. *Chandramukha*, a personal name.

*Chāṇḍamukhana* (F, l. 2); cf. Skt. *Chandramukha*, a personal name.

*Chāṇḍamūla*; see. *Siri-Chāṇḍamūla*.

*Chāṇḍisiri* (A 3, l. 7, etc., passim) or *Chāṇḍisiriṇikā* (B 5, l. 5), a personal name.

*chātudisa saṅgha* (H, ll. 12-13)=Skt. *chāturdīśaḥ saṅghaḥ*.

*chātusala* (E, l. 2), i.e., *chatussāla*, Skt. *chaturśūla*, Pali *chatussāla*, "a quadrangular building built round an inner courtyard, a cloister or quadrangle." Cf. *Myrichchha-kaṭṭhā* (ed. Stenzler) p. 46, l. 20; *vihāraṃ sacchaturśūlam*; *Rājat.* III. 13; *Mahāvamsa* XV, 47 and 50; XXXV, 88; Nāsik Cave (No. 10) Inscription, L. 2, Ep. Ind., Vol. VIII, p. 78. Acharya, *op. cit.*, p. 193.

*Chula-Chāṇḍamukha* (F, l. 2)=Skt. *Kshudra-Chandramukha*, a personal name.

*Chula-Chāṇḍisiriṇikā* (B 4, l. 5), a personal name.

*Chula-Buddhā* (K)=Skt. *Kshudra-Buddhā*, a personal name.

*Chula-Mūla* (F, l. 2)=Skt. *Kshudra-Mūla*, a personal name.

*chetiya-ghara* (E, l. 1 and F, ll. 2 and 3)=Skt. *chaitya-griha*, "an apsidal temple or Chaitya-hall." The term seems to be employed synonymously with *sela-maṇḍava*. The word *chetiya-ghara* is frequently met with in inscriptions and applies equally to structural and rock-cut shrines. Cf. Lüders, *List, Index* and *Mahāvamsa* XXXI, 52.

*chhaṭṭha* (E, l. 2; F, l. 2), i.e., *chhaṭṭha* "sixth"=Skt. *shashṭha*.

*chhaṭṭhi*, i.e., *chhaṭṭhi*, in the personal name *Chhaṭṭhisiri* (C 4, l. 6).

*Chhadakapavaticha* (J, l. 1), a personal name (?) Cf. below under "Geographical Terms."

*jām[ā]tukasa* (E, l. 1)=Skt. *jāmātrikasya*.

*jua-kāma-kodha-bhaya-harisa-tarisa-moha-dosa-sad[ā]pita-Māra-bala-dapa-māna-pasamana-kara* (F, l. 1)=Skt. *jīta-kāma-krodha-bhaya-harsha-tarsha-mōha-dvēsha-sadbāpita-Māra-bala-darpa-praśamana-kara*, an epithet of the Buddha.

<sup>2</sup> [ See footnote 1 on page 22, above.—Ed.]

*ṛita-rāga-dosa-moha-vipamuta* (A 2, l. 2, etc.)=Skt. *ṛita-rāga-dv̥eṣha-mōha-vipramukta*, epithet of the Buddha. *Rāga*, *dosa*, *moha*, "lust, hatred, and delusion" are the three Aggis, *Kiñchanas*, or *Akusala-mūlas* symbolised in the centre of the "Wheel of Existence" by three animals: a dove or cock, a snake and a hog.

*tarisa* (E, l. 1)=Skt. *tarsha* "thirst."

*taruṇa-divasakara-pabha* (F, l. 1)=Skt. *°prabha*, an epithet of the Buddha.

*talāka* (F, l. 3)=Skt. *taḍāga*, "a tank or cistern."

*tiṇi* (F, l. 3), instr. *tiṃhi*, (F, l. 3) "three."

*tera* (F, l. 1) "thirteenth."

*teloka-dhamma-dhurū-vaḥa* (G, l. 1)=Skt. *trailōkyā-dharma-dhurā vaḥa*, an epithet of the Buddha.

*thambha* in *sela-thambha* (C 2, l. 8)=Skt. *stambha*, Pali *thambha* "a pillar, a column, a stele."

*thera*, combined with personal names (F, ll. 3-4; H, l. 14)=Skt. *sthavira*, Pali *thera*, "a senior monk, an elder."

*theriya* (F, l. 1), derived from *thera*, adj. "belonging to *theras*," subst. "fraternity, community."

*darisana* (F, l. 1)=Skt. *darśana*, Pali *dassana*. Cf. Pischel, *Grammatik*, §135.

*dasabala-mahābala* (F, l. 1)=Skt. *daśabala-mahābala*, an epithet of the Buddha.

*dināri-māsaka* (B 5, l. 6); Skt. *dināra*, from Latin *denarius*, "an Indian coin struck in imitation of and called after the Roman Denarius" and Skt. *māsha(ka)*, "a certain weight and monetary value." *Manu* VIII, 135, 298, 392.

*divasa* (E, l. 2)=Skt. *divasa*. Elsewhere (C 2, l. 11) abbreviated as *diva*.

*Dīgha-Majjhima-pa[n]cha-mātuka-desaka-vāchaka*, and *Dīgha-Majjhima-nikāya-dhara* (C 1, ll. 11-12 and C 2, ll. 9-10); corrected reading. Cf. *Vinaya-dhara* and *Mahāvīnaya-dhara* in Amarāvati inscriptions. Burgess, *Amaravati Stupa*, p. 37, No. VIII, and p. 102, No. 25. The word *-dhara* in these compounds must have the same meaning as Arabic *ḥāfiẓ* "one who has the whole Qur'ān by heart."

*duhutā* (B, l. 3)=Skt. *duhitā* "a daughter", gen., instr. sing., *dhūtuya*, (F, l. 3; H, l. 9).

*deva-manusa-sava-sata-hita-sukha-maga-desika* (F, l. 1)=Skt. *dēva-manushya-sarva-sattva-hita-sukha-mārga-dēśika*, an epithet of the Buddha.

*devarāja-sakata* (A 2, l. 1, etc., passim)=Skt. *dēvarāja-sakṛita*, an epithet of the Buddha. *-desaka* (C 1, l. 11 "osaka"; C 2, l. 9 "desa") "a preacher".

*Dhanaka* (B 2, l. 4), a clan name.

*Dhamma* (K, l. 1)=Skt. *Dharma*, a personal name.

*Dhamma[ghosa]* (H, l. 14)=Skt. *Dharmaghōṣha*, a personal name.

*Dhammanandi* (F, l. 4), i.e., *Dhammanandī*, a personal name.

*dhātuvara-parigrahita* (B 4, l. 3, etc., passim)=Skt. *dhātuvara-parigrihita* "absorbed by the best of elements (*dhātu*), i.e., by Nirvāṇa".<sup>1</sup>

*natu* (K) in *sanatuka*, i.e., *sanattuka*=Skt. *sanāptika*.

*nattī* (H, l. 8)=Skt. *napṛī*, "a grand-daughter".

<sup>1</sup> The above interpretation I owe to the courtesy of M. L. de la Vallée Poussin, who adds: "If the inscriptions belonged to the Mahāsāṃghikas, a conjectural explanation of *dhātuvara* as *Dharmadhātu* would not be excluded. The *Dharmadhātu* was sometimes a kind of Buddhist Brahman for the followers of the Mahāyāna."

[To me it does not appear to be impossible that the *Mahācetiya* has been specified in these inscriptions as 'protected by the corporeal remains of the Buddha' and that the genitive case is used here to discriminate this *stūpa* from others not similarly consecrated. Inscription E gives *dhātu-pari* only.—Ed.]

*navakama* and *navakamma* (C 1, l. 12; C 2, l. 11; F, l. 3)=Skt. *navakarma*, Pali *navakamma*, "a religious building dedicated by some lay-member to the Saṅgha". The procedure by which a superintendent of works (*navakammika*) is appointed by the chapter of *Bhikkhus* in order to supervise the construction of a *navakamma* is described in *Chullavagga* VI, 5=*Vinaya Piṭakam* (ed. Oldenberg), Vol. II, pp. 159 f. (*S. B. E.*, Vol. XX, pp. 189 ff.). "If the buildings were for the *Bhikkhus*, then a *Bhikkhu*, if for the *Bhikkhunīs*, then a *Bhikkhunī*, was appointed to superintend the works in order to ensure the buildings being in accordance with the rules of the Order as to size, form, and object of the various apartments". Cf. also *Sutta-vibhaṅga*, *Bhikkhunī-vibhaṅga* I, 1=*Vinaya Piṭakam*, Vol. IV, p. 211. The word *navakamma* frequently occurs in dedicatory inscriptions.

*navakammika* (F, l. 3) "a *Bhikkhu* or *Bhikkhunī* appointed by the Chapter as a superintendent of the building operations of a *navakamma*, (see preceding article). Cf. Lüders, *List*, Nos. 154, 773, 987 and 1250. A synonymous term is *kamm-ādhiṭṭhāyaka*, *Mahāvamsa*, XXX, 98.

*Nākā* (K)=Skt. *Nāgā*, a personal name.

*Nāga* (F, l. 4)=Skt. *Nāga*, a personal name.

*Nāgātara* (J, l. 1), a personal name.

*Nāgamna* (F, l. 3), a personal name.

*Nīyabodhinikā* (F, l. 3), a personal name.

*nīlā-sāra-samanāgata* (E, l. 2) "assembled (?) from various countries".

*nīkapanika* (E, l. 2), a word of uncertain meaning.

*nīḥapita* or *nīḥapita* (C 1, l. 12; C 2, l. 11), Pali *nīḥāpita*, past participle of *nīḥāpeti*, "to complete", *Mahāvamsa*, XXXI, 1, 2. Cf. Pali *nīḥita* completed, *thūpe anīḥite yeva*, *Mahāvamsa*, XXIX, 53; *thūpe anīḥitaṃ kammaṃ nīḥāpeti* *ibid.*, XXXII, 2.

*nīrōḇa-sampatti-sampādake* (A 3, l. 9, etc., passim)=Skt. *nīrōḇa-sampatti-sampādake*, *pañcama* (E, l. 2) "fifth".

*paṭa* (J, l. 2 and K) "a slab." Frequently in Amarāvati inscriptions; see Lüders, *List*, *Index*. Also in compound *sapaṭa-samīhara* (F, l. 2), "with a floor of (stone) slabs".

*paṭibhāga* (A 2, ll. 6-7, etc., passim) in compound *samaṇa-baṃhāga*. The word corresponds with Skt. *pratibhāga*,<sup>1</sup> Pali *paṭibhāga*=counterpart, likeness. But the word wanted here is *apaṭibhāga*, Pali *appaṭibhāga* "unequalled, unparalleled, matchless."

*paṭiḥapita* (A 3, l. 9), i.e., *paṭiḥāpita*, Skt. *pratiṣṭhāpita* "erected, set up, dedicated"

*Paduma* (K)=Skt. *Padma*, a personal name.

*Padumavāni* (J, l. 1), a personal name.

*Padumā* (K)=Skt. *Padmā*, a personal name.

*padhāna-sālā* (F, l. 3)=Skt. *pradhāna-sālā*, "a hall for practising religious exercises", from Pali *padhāna* "exertion, energetic effort, striving, concentration of mind". Cf. *padhāna-maṃḍa* in Amarāvati inscriptions. Burgess, *Amarāvati Stūpa*, p. 105, No. 49; Lüders, *List*, No. 1230 and correction, p. 179.

*parigaha* (E, l. 2)=Skt. *parigraha*, Pali *pariggaha*, "grace, favour."

*parigahita* or *parigahita* in *dhikvāra-parigahita* (q.v.) and *Vēṭupathāpati-Mahāna-parigahita* (q.v.). The meaning of *parigahita* in these two compounds appears to be "absorbed by".

<sup>1</sup> [But Skt. *pratibhāga* means 'gift' or 'share' also.—Ed.]

<sup>2</sup> ["protected by"—Ed.]

*parināmetuna[m]* passim, *absolutivum* of *parināmeti*=Skt. *pariṇāmayati*, Pali *pariṇāmei* (caus. of *pariṇamati*) "to bend to, to change into, to turn to use for somebody, to apportion, to destine." *Mahādevi Bapisirīṇikā apāno mātaram Haṁmasirīṇikā parināmetuna* (C 2, l. 7) and *Mahādevi Chhaṭṭhisirī apāno mātaram Haṁmasirīṇikā parināmetuna* (C 4, l. 7). It is clear that *parināmetuna* is used here in the same sense as *purato katūnaṁ* in the Jaggayyapēṭa inscriptions: *apāno mātaram Nāgalinī purato katūnaṁ* "having associated [with him] his mother Nāgalini" (Bühler). In the expression *apāno ubhaya-kulam parināmetuna* (B 2, l. 5; C 1, l. 8; C 5, l. 4) it is also used with the object in the accusative. Elsewhere we find *apāno ubhaya-kulasa atichhitam-anāgata-vaṭamānake* or *vaṭamānakānaṁ* in which the connection with the *absolutivum* *parināmetuna* is not clear. Cf. Buddhist Skt. *pariṇāmayati* (*Mahāvastu*, Vol. I, pp. 81 and 309).

*pavajita* (E, l. 1), i.e., *pavajita*=Skt. *pravrajita*, Pali *pabbajita*.

*pas[ā]daka* (E, l. 1)=Skt. *prasādaka*, Pali *pasādaka* "converting to the Buddhist faith".

*pāsāda* in *Bodhi-rukha-pāsāda* (F, l. 3) *q.v.*

*pituchhā* (A 2, l. 5, etc., passim)=Pali *pituchchhā*: "a father's sister, a paternal aunt", Cf. Pischel, *Grammatik*, § 148.

*pituno* (F, l. 2) gen. sing.=Skt. *pituh*.

*puva-dāra* (F, l. 3), i.e., *puva-dāra*=Skt. *pūrva-dāra* "the eastern gate or entrance". The word *dāra* is frequently met with in *Amarāvatī* inscriptions. Cf. Lüders, *List*, *Index*, under *dāra*.

*puva-diśā-bhāga* (F, l. 2)=Skt. *pūrva-diśā-bhāga*.

*Pūkiya*, *Pukiya* (A 2, l. 6; C 3, l. 7; C 5, l. 2), *Pugiya* (E, l. 1), a clan name.

*Bapisirīṇikā* (C 2, l. 6), a personal name. Cf. *Bapisiri* in Lüders, *List*, No. 1213 (*Amarāvatī* inscription) and names like *Bappuka* (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. II, p. 282), *Bappārya* (*Gupta Inscr.*, p. 243), *Bappasvāmin* (*ibidem*, p. 105) and *Bāppadōva* (*ibidem*, p. 249), *Bappikā* (*Rājat.* VII, 1128).

*Bahusutiya* (G, l. 8)=Skt. *Bahusrutiga*, Pali *Bahussutiya*, name of a Buddhist sect. It was a subdivision of the Gōṅkulika sect which belonged to the *Mahāsāṅghika*, Cf. M. Walleiser, *Die Sekten des alten Buddhismus*, pp. 6 and 21.

*bālikā* (B 4, l. 3; B 5, l. 3 *ex conjectura*; C 2, l. 6; C 4, l. 5).

*Budhanīkā* (F, l. 3), a personal name.

*Budhanīkī[nā]* (F, l. 2), a personal name.

*Budhā* (K), a personal name.

*Budhinaka* (F, l. 2), a personal name.

*Budhi[vā]siya* (F, l. 2), a personal name.

*Bodhi* (F, l. 2)=Skt. *Bodhi*, a personal name.

*Bodhika* (F, l. 2)=Skt. *Bodhika*, a personal name.

*Bodhi-rukha-pāsāda* (F, l. 3)=Skt. *Bodhi-riksha-prāsāda*, Pali *Bodhi-rukka-ppāsāda*, "a shrine of the Bodhi-tree." G. Spence Hardy, *Eastern Monachism*, p. 212.

*Bodhisāma* (F, l. 2)=Skt. *Bodhisāma*, a personal name. Cf. Lüders, *List*, No. 1200.

*Bodhisiri* (F, l. 2)=Skt. *Bodhisiri*, a personal name.

*Bhagini* (A 3, l. 5, etc., passim, instr. sing. *Bhaginiyā*) (H, l. 10)=Skt. *Bhagini* "sister".

*bhajanī-Anandena* (C 1, l. 12) and *Bhajanī-Anandena* (C 2, l. 10)=Skt. *Bhādani-Anandena* "by the Reverend Ānanda".

*Bhāṭidevā* (G, l. 7), a personal name.

*bhatuno*, gen. sing. (F, 1. 2)=Skt. *bhātuh*.

*Bhada* (F, 1. 2). i.e., *Bhadla*=Skt. *Bhāḍa*, a personal name.

*Bhadasiri* (F, 1. 3), i.e., *Bhaddasiri*=Skt. *Bhaddasī*, a personal name.

*bharyā* (A 2, 1. 6, etc., passim) and *bharyā* (B 2, 1. 4; B 4, 1. 5)=Skt. *bhāryā*, Pali *bhāryā*.

*bhāgineya* (F, 1. 2)=Skt. *bhāginiya*, "a sister's son".

*bhātuno* (F, 1. 3) gen. sing.=Skt. *bhrātuh*; *bhātunam*, gen. plur.=Skt. *bhrātṛiṇām*.

*bhātu-puta* (F, 1. 2)=Skt. *bhrātṛi-putra*, "a brother's son".

*Majjhima-nikāya*. see *Dīgha-Majjhima-nikāya*.

*maṇḍava*, *maṇḍava* (F, 1. 3)=Skt. *maṇḍapa*.

*Mahākāṇḍasiri* (C 5, 1. 2), a personal name. Cf. *Kāṇḍasiri*.

*mahāyaṇi-rasabha-gaṇḍha-hathi* (A 2, 1. 2, etc., passim)=Skt. *mahāyaṇi-rṣishabha-gaṇḍha-hastin*, an epithet of the Buddha. For *mahāyaṇi* cf. *Mahāvamsa* XXIX, 30.

*Mahā-Chandamukha* (F, 1. 2)=Skt. *Mahā-Chandramukha*, a personal name.

*Mahāchetiya* and *Mahāchetiya* (A 2, 1. 3, etc., passim)=Skt. *Mahāchaitya*, "Great Chaitya," loc. sing. *Mahāchetiyamhi* (C 4, 1. 2, ex conjectura).

*mahātalarava* (A 2, 1. 6, etc., passim), a title of uncertain meaning, evidently denoting "a high dignitary or a feudal lord". See above, p. 6.

*mahātalaravi* (A 3, 1. 7, etc., passim), "the wife of a *mahātalarava*".

*mahādāṇḍanāyaka* (B 2, 1. 4)=Skt. *mahādāṇḍanāyaka* "a high, probably judicial, official". Cf. *J. R. A. S.*, 1924, p. 402.

*mahādānapatini* (A 3, 1. 7, etc., passim)=Skt. \**mahādānapatnī* "a mistress of munificence" an epithet of Chāṇḍisiri. Cf. *mahādānapati* in Taxila plate inscription. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. IX, p. 56.

*mahādevi* (B 5, 1. 4; C 2, 1. 6; G, 1. 7; H, 1. 11), a title borne by the consort of a ruling chief.

*mahādhammakāthika* (H, 1. 14)=Skt. *mahādharma-kāthika* "a great preacher of the Law." Cf. Burgess, *Amaravati Stupa*, p. 94.

*mahābhikkhu-saṅgha* (E, 1. 1), i.e., *mahābhikkhu-saṅgha*.

*mahāmātukā* (F, 1. 2). Cf. Pali *mahāmātā* "a grandmother".

*Mahā-Mūla* (F, 1. 2)=Skt. *Mahā-Mūla*, a personal name.

*mahāvihāra* (B 5, 1. 5; F, 1. 3).

*mahāsēnāpati* (A 3, 1. 7, etc., passim)=Skt. *mahāsēnāpati*, lit. "Commander-in-Chief" but here used as a title designating a feudal lord. According to the late Dr. Fleet it "denotes equal rank with Mahārāja and Mahāsāmanta." (*Gupta Inscriptions*, p. 15, n.). See above, p. 6.

*mahāsēnāputini* (B 4, 1. 5), Skt. \**mahāsēnāpatnī* "the wife of a *mahāsēnāpati*".

*Mahī[sā]saka* (G, 1. 12), Skt. *Mahīsāsaka*, Pali *Mahimsāsaka*, name of a Buddhist sect. It was a subdivision of the Theravādins and appears to have flourished in the Āndhra country. Cf. M. Walleiser, *Die Sekten des alten Buddhismus*, pp. 7 and 22.

*Māḍhariputa* (A 2, 1. 5, etc., passim) and *Māḍhariputa* (E, 1. 1; F, 1. 1; H, 1. 8)=Skt. *Māḍhariputra*, metronymic of Sīri-Virapurisadatta.

*mātā* (A 3, 1. 7, etc., passim) "mother", acc. sing. *mātaram* (C 2, 1. 7; C 4, 1. 7; instr. and gen. sing. *mātuya* (F, 1. 2; G, 1. 7).

*mātuka*, see *pañcha-mātuka*.

*Misī* (F, 1. 3), i.e., *Missi*=Skt. *Misrī*, a personal name

*Mūla* (F, l. 3), a personal name.

*Mūlamnikā* (F, l. 3), a personal name.

*Mūlavāṇiya* (F, l. 2), a personal name.

*Rudradharabhaṭṭārikā* (B 5, l. 3)=Skt. *Rudradharabhaṭṭārikā*, a personal name of a queen, probably belonging to the ruling house of Ujjayinī. See above, p. 4.

*Revata* (F, l. 2), a personal name.

*Revatimnikā* (F, l. 2), a personal name.

*-vaḍhāki* (F, l. 4)=Skt. *vardhaki*, Pali *vaḍḍhaki*, Hindi *barhāi*, "a carpenter, builder, architect, mason." Cf. *vaḍhaki* in Karle inscription, Lüders, *List*, No. 1092 and *vaḍakin* in Sānchi inscription, *ibidem*, No. 495. In inscr. F, l. 4 the word occurs in the compound *sela-vaḍhāki*=Skt. *śaila-wardhaki*, "a stone-mason." Cf. Pali *uṭṭhaka-vaḍḍhaki* "a brick-mason," *Mahāvamsa* XXIX, 5, 30 and A. K. Coomaraswamy, *J. A. O. S.*, Vol. XLVIII, p. 272.

*vaṇija(ka)* (A 3, l. 6, etc., passim)=Buddhist Sanskrit *vanīyaka*, *vanīpaka* "a beggar, a mendicant." Examples: *Dēva na hy=ēsha Kunālō=ndhaku ēsha vanīpakah patnyā saha dēvasya yānāśālāyām=avasthitah*, *Dvyaśvadāna*, p. 414, l. 18; *Mahākāśyapō dīn-ānātha-kripana-vanīyak-ānukampī*, *Divy.*, p. 83, l. 19; *brāhmaṇaṃ vā śramaṇaṃ vā anyam v=āpi, vanīyakam*, *Mahāvastu*, Vol. I, p. 188, l. 14.

*-vathava* (C 1, l. 11; F, l. 2), i.e., *vattavva*=Skt. *vāstavya* "residing at".

*vāchaka* (C 1, l. 11; C 2, l. 9, restored), "a preacher".

*Vāsīthiputa* (A 2, l. 3, etc., passim) and *Vāsethiputa* (G, l. 5; H, ll. 7 and 9), i.e., *Vāsīthiputta*=Skt. *Vāsīsthīputra*, metronymic of *Siri-Chāntamūla*, *Kaṇḍasiri*, *Khaṇḍachalikiremmaṇaka* (?) (B 4, l. 4) and *Siri-Ehuvala-Chāntamūla* (H, l. 9).

*Viṇhusiri* (C 5, l. 3)=Skt. *Vishṇusrī*, a personal name. Cf. *Viṇhukā* in Sānchi inscriptions, *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. II, p. 95.

*Vidhika* (F, l. 4), a personal name.

*Virūpakshapati-Mahāsena-parigahita* (A 2, l. 3, etc., passim)=Skt. *Virūpākshapati-Mahāsēna-parigrihita*, an epithet of *Siri-Chāntamūla*. In the *Mulindapanhu*, pp. 6 ff., *Mahāsēna* figures as a *devaputta* who becomes incarnate in the sage *Nāgasēna*.

*viḥāra* (F, l. 2; G, l. 8; H, l. 11), "a monastery".

*Virarīna* (F, l. 3), a personal name.

*Vira[m]nikā* (F, l. 3), a personal name.

*velāmi(ka)* (B 3, l. 7, etc., passim; once *vailāmika* A 4, l. 7) in compound *samaṇa-bamhaṇa-*. The word appears to be an adjective meaning, "belonging to Velāma." Buddha (*Jātaka*, Vol. I, p. 228; Cambridge translation, Vol. I, p. 101) refers to the time of Velāma when he (Buddha) "stirred up all India by giving the seven things of price, and in [his] largesse poured them forth as though [he] had made into one mighty stream the five great rivers." He then preached the *Velāmaka-Sutta* (*Velāmaka-Suttaṃ kathesi*) which is also mentioned in *Sumaṅgala-Vilāsini*, Vol. I, p. 234, l. 11. It would seem, that Velāma was a legendary personage renowned in Buddhist tradition for his munificence like *Vessantara* with whom his name is combined in *Vibhaṅgaṭṭha-kathā*, p. 414, l. 6. Mr. Helmer Smith has drawn my attention to a passage in *Anguttara-Nikāya*, Vol. IV, pp. 394-396 where the Buddha praises the liberality of a Brahmin *Velāma* with whom he identifies himself in a previous birth.

*vochhina*, i.e., *vochchhinna* (A 2, l. 7, etc., passim) in compound *samaṇa-bamhaṇa-*=Skt. *vyavachchhinna*, past participle of *vyavachchinatti*, passive *vyavachchhidyaṭē*, Pali

- vochhijate* "to be cut off". The word wanted here evidently is *avochhina*, Pali *abbochchhinna*, *abbhochchhinna* "not cut off, uninterrupted, continuous".
- samvachhara* (E, l. 2)=Skt. *saṃvatsara*, "a year". Elsewhere (A 3, l. 9, etc., passim) abbreviated as *saṃva*, or *saṃ* (E, l. 2).
- sata* (F, l. 3), i.e., *satta*,=Skt. *sapta*, "seven".
- satari-salam* (B 5, l. 6), i.e., *sattari-salam* "one hundred and seventy." Cf. Pischel, *Grammatik*, § 60.
- saṃthara* in *sapaṭa-saṃtharam* (F, l. 2)=Skt. *saṃstara*, Pali *saṃthara*, *saṃthāra* "a layer, stratum, couch, flooring". Cf. *Mahāvamsa* XXX, 70.
- samaṇa-bamhaṇa-kavaṇa-vaṇija*[*ka*]-*dīn-ānugaha-velāmi*[*ka*]-*dāna-paṭibhāga-vochhina-dhāra-padāyini* (A 3, ll. 6-7, etc., passim)=Skt. *śramaṇa-brāhmaṇa-kṛpāṇa-vaṇiyaka-dīn-ānugriha-vaṭīlāmika-dān-āpratibhāg-avyavachhinnā-dhāra-pradāyini*, an epithet of Chāṃtisiri. Cf. above, under *kavaṇa*, *vaṇija*(*ka*), *velāmi*(*ka*), *paṭibhāga*, and *vochhina*.
- saṃma-saṃbuddha* (A 2, l. 1)=Skt. *samyak-saṃbuddha*, Pali *sammā-saṃbuddha* "perfectly enlightened, a universal Buddha".
- saṃuthapiyamāna* (B 5, l. 6)=Skt. *saṃutthāpyamāna*, present participle passive of *saṃutthāpayati*, Pali *saṃutthāpeti* "to found, originate".
- sarada-sasi-soma-darisana* (F, l. 1)=Skt. *śārada-śaśi-saumya-darśana*, an epithet of the Buddha.
- savaṃṇu*, gen. *savaṃṇuno* (A 2, l. 1, etc., passim)=Skt. *varvaṇa*, Pali *sabbaṇṇu* "omniscient", an epithet of the Buddha.
- sava-niyuta* (E, l. 2; F, l. 2; cf. *sava-jāta*(?)*-niyuta* G, l. 8), i.e., *savva-niyutta*=Skt. *sarva-niyukta*.
- sava-loka-chita-mahita* (F, l. 1)=Skt. *sarva-lōka-chitta-mahita*, an epithet of the Buddha.
- sava-loka-hita-sukh-ārahathanāya* (C 1, l. 9; C 3, l. 12), cf. *ubhaya-loka-hita*°.
- sava-sat-ānukampaka* (A 2, l. 1, etc., passim), i.e., *savva-satt-ānukampaka*=Skt. *sarva-sattv-ānukampaka*, an epithet of the Buddha.
- sava-sādhv-vuchhalā* (A 3, l. 7, etc., passim)=Skt. *sarva-sādhv-vatsalā*, an epithet of Chāṃtisiri.
- [*sā*]*dhu-vaga* (F, l. 3), i.e., *sādhv-vagga*=Skt. *sādhv-varga*.
- Siri-Ehuvala*(*Ehuvala*)-*Chātāmūla* (G, l. 7, H, ll. 3 and 10), a personal name.
- Siri-Chāṃtamūla* (A 2, l. 5, etc., passim), a personal name. Sometimes *Chātāmūla*.
- Siri-Virapurisadatta* (A 2, l. 5, etc., passim) -*Vira*- (E, l. 2 and G, l. 6)=Skt. *Śrī-Vira-purushadatta*, a personal name.
- suṃṇhā* (F, l. 3, G, l. 5)=Skt. *snushā*, Pali *suṇisā*, *suṇhā* "a daughter-in-law."
- supabuddha-bodhi* (B 5, l. 1)=Skt. *suprabuddha-bōdhi*, an epithet of the Buddha.
- suparigaha* (F, l. 1; H, l. 11)=Skt. *suparigraha*, "grace, acceptance".
- suparigahita* (C 1, l. 10; C 2, l. 8)=Skt. *suparigrihita*, Pali *supariggahita*, "well favoured, graced, i.e., accepted by."
- sela-khambha* (B 4, l. 6; B 5, l. 4; C 2, l. 8; C 5, l. 5)=Skt. *śaila-skambha* "a stone pillar." Cf. above, under *khambha*.
- sela-thambha* (C 2, l. 8)=Skt. *śaila-stambha*, "a stone pillar." Cf. above, under *thambha*.
- sela-maṇḍava* (E, l. 2) and *sela-maṇḍava* (F, l. 3)=Skt. *śaila-maṇḍapa*, "a stone shrine", *sela-vaḍhāki* (F, l. 4); see above, under *vaḍhāki*.
- sōdarā-bhagini* (A 2, l. 5, etc., passim) and once *sahodarā*(*ā*)-*bhagini* (E, l. 2) "a sister born from the same womb"; gen. sing. *sodarāya bhaginiya* (C 2, l. 5).
- seṃma* (F, l. 1)=Skt. *saumya*, Pali *somma*,

*Hagsiri* (J, l. 1), a personal name. Cf. Lüders, *List*, No. 1284.

*Haghamna* (F, l. 2), from Skt. *saṅgha* (?), a personal name.

*Haṅgha*, i.e., *Haṅgha*, =Skt. *Saṅgha*, in personal names. Cf. Lüders, *List*, Nos. 1240, 1262, 1271, 1272, 1274, 1281.

*Hammasiririkā* (C 2, ll. 5 and 7; C 4, ll. 5 and 7) or *Hammasiri* (C 4, l. 5), a personal name.

*harisa* (F, l. 1) =Skt. *harsha*.

*Hiraññaka*, i.e., *Hiraññaka* (B 4, l. 4), a clan name.

*hirañña-koṭi-go-satasahasa-hala-satasahasa-padāyi* (A 2, l. 4, etc., passim); see *aneka-hirañña-koṭi*°.

*Hugha* (K, l. 1) =Skt. *Sukha* (?), a personal name.

*hemanta-pakha* (E, l. 2; F, l. 1) =Skt. *hēmanṭa-paksha*.

#### Geographical names.

*Avaranta* (F, l. 1), i.e., *Avaranta*, Skt. *Aparānta(ka)*, Pali *Aparanta(ka)*, a country of the Western coast of the Peninsula, corresponding to the Northern Konkan, the capital of which was *Sōpārā*, the ancient *Sūrpāraka*.<sup>1</sup> Aparanta is mentioned in Rock-Edict V of Aśoka in connection with the appointment of *dhamma-mahāmātas*, in Nāsik Cave III inscr. among the dominions of Gautamiputra Śātakarṇi (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VIII, p. 60) and in the Junāgaḍh rock-inscription of Rudradāman. It was converted by Yonaka-Dhammarakkhita, *Dīpav.* VIII, 7. *Mahāvamsa* XII, 4 and 34. Cf. also *Milinda*. p. 331, Lüders, *List*, Nos. 965, 1013 A[pa]rāntikā (?), 1123. Skt. *Aparāntaka*. Cf. *Raghu*, IV, 53.

<sup>1</sup> *Ujenikā* (B 5, l. 3, ex conjectura for “*Ujanikā*”), i.e., *Ujjenikā*, adj. from *Ujjeni*, Skt. *Ujjayinī*, Pali *Ujjeni*, Gr. Ὀζήνη (Ptolemy, VII, 1, 63), modern Ujjain, a famous town in Central India.

*Kaṁṭakasela* (F, l. 3, ex conjectura for “*Kaṁṭakasola*”), i.e., *Kaṁṭakasela*, Skt. *Kaṁṭa-kaśaila*, Gr. Κανταχοσσύλα ἐμπορίου (Ptolemy, VII, 1, 15) a town in Maisolia. See above, p. 8.

*Kasmira* (F, l. 1) Skt. *Kāsmīra*, Pali *Kasmira*, modern Kashmir, a country in the Western Himālaya. Converted by Majjhantika, *Dīpav.* VIII, *Mahāv.* XII.

*Gaṁdhāra* (F, l. 1), i.e., *Gandhāra*, Skt. Pali *Gandhāra*, the Trans-Indus country and the district of Taxila. Converted by Majjhantika, *Dīpav.* VIII, *Mahāv.* XII.

*Govagāma* (F, l. 2), Skt. *Gōpagrāma* (?). The ancient name of the town Goa on the West Coast is Govapurī, Skt. *Gōpakapurī*. (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. II, p. 117. *Jour. Bombay Hist. Soc.*, Vol. I, pp. 220 f.), but here some other locality appears to be meant.

*Chilāta* (F, l. 1), Skt. *Kirāta*, Mahārāshṭrī *Chilāda*, *Chilāa*, Ardhamāgadhi *Chilāya*, Gr. Κιρράδαι (*Periplus*, § 62; Ptolemy, VII, 2, 2), Κιρραδία (Ptolemy, VII, 2, 16) and Τιλάδαι (Ptolemy, VII, 2, 15), an un-Aryan tribe frequently mentioned in Sanskrit literature. Cf. *Milinda*. pp. 327 and 331. (Read *Chilāta* instead of *Vilāta*).

*China* (F, l. 1, coupled with *Chilāta*), name of a country and its inhabitants.

*Chula-Dhammagiri* (F, l. 2), see *Dhammagiri*.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. J. Charpentier *J. E. A. S.*, 1927, pp. 111 sq. and *ibid.*, 1928, p. 410.



- Chhadakapavat[i]cha* (J, l. 1), perhaps an adjective from *Chhadakapavata*. Cf. [*Chhada*]-*kicha* "an inhabitant of Chhadaka" (?) Lüders, *List*, No. 1220 (Amarāvati).
- Tambapam̃ni-dīpa*, i.e., *Tambapam̃ni-dīpa* and adj. *Tambapam̃naka* (F, l. 1), Skt. *Tāmaparṇa-dvīpa*, Gr. *Ταπροβάνη* (Ptolemy, VII, 4, 1), the Island of Ceylon.
- Tosali* (F, l. 1), a country and town on the coast of Kalinga, mentioned in the two separate Rock-Edicts of Dhauli and two copper-plate inscriptions from the Cuttack district (*Ep. Ind.*, Vols. IX, p. 286 and XV, p. 1); *Τωσάλη μητρόπολις* erroneously located by Ptolemy (VII, 2, 23) in Trans-Gangetic India. Perhaps identical with *Δωσάρα* (Ptolemy, VII, 1, 77) and *Δωσαρηγή* (*Periplus*, 47). Cf. above, p. 7.
- Damila* (F, l. 1, reading uncertain), Skt. *Draviḍa*, Pali *Damila*, the Tamil country and people on the coast of Coromandel.
- Deragiri* (F, l. 3), a hill (?), site of a *padhāna-sālā* founded by Bodhisiri.
- Dhammagiri* (*Mahā-* and *Chula-* in F, ll. 2 and 3), i.e., *Dhammagiri* Skt. *Dharmagiri*, a hill. The Chula-Dhammagiri was the site of a monastery, where Bodhisiri founded the *chetiya-ghara* or apsidal shrine mentioned in inscr. F. It appears, therefore, to be the ancient name of the hill now known as Naharā||abōḍu.
- Parṇagāma* (C 1, l. 11; C 2, l. 10), i.e., *Parṇagāma*, Skt. *Parṇagrāma* (?), a village.
- Papilā* (F, l. 3), a locality.
- [*Pa*]lura (F, l. 1, first syllable restored), a town in Kalinga, identified with Dantapura (S. Lévi, *J. A.*, Vol. CCVI, 1925, pp. 46 ff.; *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. LV, pp. 94 ff.). Ptolemy mentions *Παλούρα πόλις ἐν Γαγγητικῷ κόλπῳ* (I, 5, 16) and *Πάλουρα πόλις* at the western-most mouth of the Ganges.
- Pupphagiri* (F, l. 3), i.e., *Pupphagiri*, Skt. *Pushpagiri* ("Flower Mountain"), a hill (?), site of a *sela-maṇḍava* or stone shrine founded by Bodhisiri.
- Purvasela* (F, l. 3), i.e., *Purvasela*, Skt. *Pūrvasaila* ("Eastern Mountain"), a hill.
- Mahā-Dhammagiri* (F, l. 3), see *Dhammagiri*.
- Yava[na]* (F, l. 1), Skt. *Yavana*, Pali *Yona*, designation originally of the Greeks (Ionians), subsequently of other foreign nations. Converted by Mahārakkhita, *Dīpav.* VIII, 9, *Mahāv.* XII, 5 and 39-40. Cf. *Saka-Yavane* in *Milinda*. pp. 327 and 331.
- Vaṅga* (F, l. 3), i.e., *Vaṅga*, Skt. and Pali *Vaṅga*, modern Bengal.
- Vanavāsi* (F, l. 1) and *Vānavāsaka* (H, l. 10), Skt. and Pali *Vanavāsa*, Gr. *Βαναβάσι* (Ptolemy, VII, 1, 83), a country corresponding to North Kanara. The village of Banavāsi is situated in latitude 14° 33', longitude 75° 5' in the Shimoga district of the Mysore State. It lies close to the border of Mysore territory and North Kanara. Vanavāsa was converted to Buddhism by Rakkhita, *Mahāv.* XII, 4. Cf. also *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. III, p. 117. *Vikramāṅkadēvacharita* V, 23 (ed. Bühler), p. 34; *Mahāvamsa* XII, 31, XXIX, 42.
- Vijayapuri* (F, l. 2), a town (?) to the east of which the apsidal temple founded by Bodhisiri was situated. Cf. Lüders, *List*, No. 1285.
- Siriparata* (F, l. 2), i.e., *Siriparata*, Skt. *Śrīparvata*, a mountain, apparently the site of a *viḥāra* or monastery mentioned in connection with the apsidal temple founded by Bodhisiri. See above, p. 9.
- Sihāḷa* in *Sihāḷa-vihāra* (F, l. 3), the Singhalese or Ceylonese Monastery, where Bodhisiri had founded a *Bodhi-rukkha-pāsāda* or "Shrine of the Bodhi-tree."
- Hirumuthuva* (F, l. 3), a locality.

## TWO ADDITIONAL INSCRIPTIONS FROM NAGARJUNIKONDA.

BY J. PH. VOGEL, PH.D.

After the above paper had been completed, Mr. Longhurst sent me estampages of two more inscriptions discovered by him in the course of his excavations at Nāgārjunikoṇḍa. Both are found incised on sculptures.

One of these inscriptions occurs on a 'footprint slab.' It consists of one line of writing and comprises twenty-three *akṣaras*, the concluding letter being written below the line owing to want of space. The *akṣaras* measure from  $\frac{1}{2}$  to  $1\frac{1}{4}$  inches in height. The lettering is distinct, except some of the vowel-marks. It will be observed that the inscription is crossed by a series of nine vertical lines which possibly have some connection with the footprint carved on the slab.

The inscription records the donation of a *patipadā*. It would follow that this word, corresponding to Sanskrit *pratipadā*, ought to indicate the object on which the inscription is engraved. The technical term, however, by which a footprint slab is indicated in the Amarāvati inscriptions, is *paduka-paṭa* (i.e., *pāduka-patta*), or *pātuka*<sup>o</sup>, *patuka* (i.e., *pāduka*).

The donor was Budhi (i.e., Buddhi), the sister of Moda, the Saka. If this interpretation is correct, the mention of a Saka or Scythian is a point of special interest. In this connection it should be noted that among the sculptures excavated by Mr. Longhurst at Nāgārjunikoṇḍa there are two showing a warrior in Scythian dress.

In the word *bakiniya* corresponding to Sanskrit *bhaginyāḥ* we note a disaspiration of the initial consonant and a hardening of the *media ga* into *ka*.

## TRANSCRIPT.

Sid[dham] Sakasa Modasa bak[i]n[i]ya Budh[i]ya pat[i]padā deyadhama

## TRANSLATION.

Success ! A *patipadā*, the pious gift of Budhi, the sister of Moda, the Scythian.

The second inscription occurs on a carved stone slab. It consists of only three *akṣaras* which I read :

Dhamasa

meaning "Of Dhama". Whether this is the name of the donor or the mason, it is impossible to decide.

## No. 2.—NALANDA STONE INSCRIPTION OF THE REIGN OF YASOVARMADEVA.

BY HIRANANDA SASTRI.

The inscription which forms the subject of this paper was excavated at Nālandā, the well-known ancient site of Magadha, by Mr. J. A. Page in the official year 1925-26.<sup>1</sup> It was found buried in the debris of the southern verandah of the old *vihāra*—now called Monastery I—which has yielded not only a large number of bronze or copper images of various kinds and the very valuable copper-plate inscription of Dēvapālādēva that has been published above,<sup>2</sup> but also the earliest remains so far discovered at Nālandā.

This interesting document is engraved on the top bed of a stone capital-bracket and covers a space of  $17\frac{1}{2}$  inches by 11 inches. It consists of twenty-one lines of writing and, excepting

<sup>1</sup> See *A. S. R.*, 1925-26, pp. 131 & 158.

<sup>2</sup> Vol. XVII, plate between pp. 320 and 321.

for a crack at the middle, is fairly well-preserved. The execution is neat and calligraphic. The record is a *praśasti* drawn in florid Sanskrit and, but for the initial symbol and the words *apīcha* coming between the sixth and the seventh stanzas, is entirely in verse. The characters, in which it is written, belong to the northern class of alphabets and present a very marked development in contrast with those of the contemporary and even somewhat later inscriptions which have been found in Northern and Eastern India. They largely resemble the characters of the Aphaṣṭ stone inscription of Ādityasēna<sup>1</sup> and would, thereby, indicate that the development, we notice in them, must have taken place not later than the first half of the sixth century of the Christian era, i.e., the time to which this inscription belongs. Till now, the Gayā inscription of A.D. 588-89 was considered to be the earliest inscription to illustrate such forms. But the epigraph under publication is decidedly anterior to that record and, therefore, becomes the earliest known inscription to represent that development. The alphabet to which these characters belong may well be called acute-angled (Bühler)<sup>2</sup> or *Siddhamātrikā* (Berūni)<sup>3</sup> in preference to the term 'nail-headed' or '*kuṭīla*'. Dēvanāgarī is an outgrowth of this *lipi*. The present record uses the bipartite form of *ya* throughout, as does the Bōdh-Gayā inscription of Mahānāman.<sup>4</sup> Nālandā is not far off from Bōdh-Gayā. This epigraph, therefore, will not countenance the supposition that the use of the bipartite *ya* in the Mahānāman inscription was "premature." The tripartite form of *ya* is found even in the Udaypur inscription of Aparājita,<sup>5</sup> which belongs to the *Samvat* year 718 (=A.D. 661). It is to be met with not only in the inscriptional records named above, but also in the Horiuzi palm-leaf manuscripts of Japan which are believed to have existed in the second half of the 6th century (A.D.). To regard an inscription as late or early merely on the ground that it uses the bipartite or the tripartite form of *ya* would not, consequently, be quite accurate. The alphabet used in this inscription is, to a large extent, identical with the modern Dēvanāgarī or Nāgarī. The chief points of difference which it presents are these: The *ā-mātrā* is generally indicated by a sort of small wedge attached to the right of the top line, whereas in Nāgarī it is expressed by a full perpendicular stroke. In the case of *ṛā*, however, a somewhat different mode is adopted by slightly bending the right end and extending it upwards beyond the top towards the right side. The *ū-mātrā* is slightly different in shape, as, e.g., in *bhūrī*°, l. 2. The *ē-mātrā* is marked in two different ways, sometimes in an elongated form of the Nāgarī symbol with a bend at about the middle, as in *dēhinām*, l. 1, and sometimes by a short curve appended to the left of the top line of the *akshara* to which it belongs, as in °*ārthinē*, l. 1, or in *karēṇa*, l. 21. Similarly, the *ai-mātrā* is expressed in two ways. In °*ś=ch=aisha*, occurring in the penultimate line, it is practically similar to the Nāgarī symbol, whereas in the majority of cases it is expressed by the hook-like mark attached to the left of the top line and the slanting *ē-mātrā*, as, e.g., in °*uchchaiḥ*, l. 21. The *ō-mātrā* is shown by the symbols of the *ā* and the *ē-mātrās* combined, see, for instance, °*mōkshāya* and *yō* in l. 1. The *au-mātrā* is also different, e.g., see °*gaura*° in l. 6, or *Śauddhōdanēr* in l. 9.

As to the initial vowels, only the *ā* and the *i* retain their comparatively earlier forms. The former keeps the hook attached to its leg as in *ādēsāt*°, l. 12, and the latter, the two small circles placed above the reversed crescent, as in *īy*°, l. 20.

In the case of consonants, the omission of the top line of the *sa*, the *ma* and the *ya* symbols is noteworthy. So, also, are the forms of the letters *bha*, *ha*, *gha* and *ja*. The symbol for *dha* is also dissimilar and still preserves the old form, as does the letter *tha*. The form of *r* in conjunction with a following consonant is also antique and noteworthy; e.g., see *sEndrair-yaḥ* in l. 1 or °*padārtha*° in l. 2.

<sup>1</sup> C. I. I., Vol. III, No. 42, plate XXVIII.

<sup>2</sup> Indian Palaeography (*Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XXXIII), p. 49.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* C. I. I., Vol. III, plate XLI A.

<sup>4</sup> *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. IV, plate facing p. 30.

In respect of **orthography**, the points which call for remark are (1) the use throughout of *v* for *b*, e.g., in *vādhī*, ll. 15 and 17, or in *Vālāditya*, l. 19, and (2) the use of the *ṇ*-like symbol for the conjunct *ñ*, as in *sarvēśhāṇ=janma*<sup>1</sup>, l. 17.

The inscription contains two words of special lexical interest. One is *śāstā* which occurs in v. 14 and seems to be used in the sense of sword personified or command.<sup>1</sup> The other is *Tikina* which comes in the third stanza and must be a foreign title, as is shown below.

The inscription, as I have stated above, is a *prasaṁsī* and its **object** is to record that **Mālāda, the son of the minister (mantrin) of Yaśovarmmadēva**, made certain gifts, specified herein, to the temple which **king Bālāditya** had erected at **Nālandā** in honour of the 'Son of Śuddhōdana', i.e., the Buddha. It consists of fifteen beautiful stanzas written in three different metres, namely, Śārdḍulavikrīḍitam, Vasantatilakā and Sragdharā and is a **Buddhist record**. Commencing with an invocation of the Buddha, it extols the great king Yaśovarmmadēva as the *Lōkapāla* i.e., guardian of the world, who had risen like the sun after dispelling the darkness in the form of the enemies and after placing his foot on the heads of all the kings though, unfortunately, it does not mention the dynasty to which he belonged or the country over which he ruled. It, then, introduces the donor Mālāda and describes him as the wise, magnanimous, benevolent and victorious son of Yaśovarmmadēva's minister, whom it calls the *Mārgapati* as well as *Udichipati* and *pradīta-Tikina*, though it does not give his name or any other particulars about him. Mālāda is mentioned here as the brother of **Nirmmalā** (v. 11), son (*nandana*) of **Bandhumati** and scion of a noble family, whose name is not stated. Giving a vivid description of the magnificent temple which king Bālāditya had built at Nālandā like a column of victory constructed after conquering the world (vv. 4-10), the inscription specifies the benefactions which the donor made for that sanctuary, as well as, for the *bhikṣus* or Buddhist monks. The gifts consisted of *gher*, curds, a brilliant lamp, pure water mixed with fourfold fragrant objects (*chatur-jātaka*)<sup>2</sup> and refreshing like nectar, and a permanent endowment (*akshaya-nivṛ*), the nature of which has not been made quite clear. We are further informed that Mālāda distributed delicious food and scented water to the *bhikṣus* and, purchasing a *laṅgā* and other things from the 'revered *Saṅgha*' gave them back to the monks, herein called *Śākyāmajas* (=the (*spiritual*) sons of the Buddha), excepting a *chīvarikā* (monk's robe) and *śradḍā*<sup>3</sup> up to and beyond *Narāḍarikā*. The afore-mentioned gifts Mālāda brought himself out of his great devotion for the Buddha when he was 'awakened' or enlightened by the illustrious monk **Pūrṇapēndrasēna** and gave them to the monks for the welfare of his parents as well as of other relations. At the close of the inscription we are told that the *kīrti* should be respected not only because of the fear of committing the five sins (*pañc-ānantarya*), which accrue from the infringement of such pious deeds, but, also, because of the fear of the sword<sup>1</sup> of king Bālāditya, the subduer of the enemy.

<sup>1</sup> See *Amarakōśa*, *Śabdakalpadrūma* and also Monier Williams' *Sanskrit-English Dictionary* under *Śāstri*. Or, does this word refer to an image of the Buddha (*Śāstā*) which might have been set up by Bālāditya in the temple he had built at Nālandā (see v. 6 of the text)?

<sup>2</sup> The four fragrant articles are: (1) *Tvak*, i.e., *Bamboo manna*, (2) *Ēlā*, i.e., *Cardamom*, (3) *Patraka*, i.e., *Laurus Cassia* and (4) *Nāgakēśara*, or *Mesua Rozburghii*. Cf. *Rājanirghaṇṭa* and *Bhāvaprakāśa* quoted in the *Śabdakalpadrūma* :—

*Tvag-ēlā-patrakais=tulyais=tri-sugandhi tri-jātakam |*  
*Nāgakēśara-samyuktam chātūr-jātakam=uchyatē ||*

<sup>3</sup> The exact significance of this term is not clear. Possibly it meant some place for himself, if not his own country.

The last stanza tells us that the *praśasti* was composed by **Śilachandra** and the celebrated **Karaṇika Svāmidatta** under the inviolable command of the *Saṅgha*.

The inscription is **not dated** but supplies sufficient data to fix the time to which it belongs. It was written when Bālāditya was ruling and when king Yaśovarmmadēva was holding the reins of sovereignty. That the Bālāditya of this record must be identified with the homonymous chief whom Hiuen Tsiang eulogises as the subduer of Mihirakula and the founder of the grand temple at Nālandā need not be dilated upon. The inscription itself mentions him as the builder of a magnificent sanctuary at Nālandā. That it is silent about his subjugation of the well-known Hūṇa king of Sākala (the modern Siālkoṭ in the Panjāb) is either due to his having had very little to do in the matter, as has already been suggested by Vincent Smith,<sup>1</sup> or, perhaps, to the fact that this inscription came into existence before that event.<sup>2</sup> Bālāditya flourished *cir.* 530 after Christ. Accordingly, Yaśovarmmadēva, his suzerain, must have ruled about the same age. So the question arises : Who was that suzerain ? He cannot be the homonymous ruler of Kanauj,<sup>3</sup> who was routed by Mukṭāpīḍa Lalitāditya of Kashmir and is better known to history as the patron of Bhavabhūti, the eminent playwright, because he came a couple of centuries after this period. The Chandēl chief of the same name is also out of the question, for he belongs to a still later epoch, *i.e.*, the 10th century of the Christian era. I know of no other ruler of this name who could be identified with the overlord mentioned in this inscription. But a powerful ruler of the name of Yaśōdharma is known to have flourished at the time when Bālāditya reigned, *i.e.*, the period to which this document is assignable. According to the Mandasōr stone inscriptions,<sup>4</sup> he was ruling in the Mālava year 589 (= A.D. 533-34), and was a mighty conqueror who governed the whole of Northern India from the Brahmaputra to the Western Ocean and erected two columns of victory with inscriptions commemorating his triumph over the foreign invaders. In view of the facts stated in all these records I am of the opinion that the Yaśovarmmadēva of the Nālandā and the Yaśōdharma of the Mandasōr inscriptions are identical and that the late Dr. Fleet was perfectly right when he thought that the name of Yaśōdharma should be corrected into Yaśōvarma.<sup>5</sup> It is true that names ending in *dharma* are not unknown, but the appellation as given in the document under publication looks more reasonable and more appropriate than the one which was read in the other epigraphs. Accordingly, I would suggest that we should call the sovereign ruler who was chiefly responsible for the breakdown of the power of the Hūṇas in India early in the 6th century of the Christian era by the name of Yaśovarmmadēva as given in the present record. From the way this inscription introduces him and Bālāditya it is evident that he was the overlord of the latter. The suzerainty of Yaśōdharma is proven by the above-mentioned inscriptions. Bālāditya, in any case, could not have had two different overlords living side by side and having practically identical names.<sup>6</sup> The chief interest of this inscription, therefore, lies in its enabling us to determine

<sup>1</sup> *Early History of India*, 4th edn., p. 386.

<sup>2</sup> It is not impossible, however, that Bālāditya fought Mihirakula—though under the supreme command of Yaśovarmmadēva—and got the credit of ousting him (*i.e.*, Mihirakula).

<sup>3</sup> The guess made in *A. S. R.* 1925-26, p. 131 was wrong.

<sup>4</sup> *C. I. I.*, Vol. III, Nos. 34 & 35.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, foot-note 2 on page 145.

<sup>6</sup> *Janēndra* in the Mandasōr inscription (l. 4) does not necessarily mean a tribal ruler as Fleet seems to have imagined. The word should be taken as a synonym of *narēndra* in the general sense, *i.e.*, the king of 'men.' Besides, his mention before Viṣṇuvardhana clearly shows his suzerainty. Prof. Dr. Vogel has kindly drawn my attention to the Yaśovarmapura of the Ghōṣarāwā Buddhist inscription (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. XVII, pp. 307 ff.) which might have been designated after this monarch. The whereabouts of this place are not known. Sir Alexander Cunningham took it to be the town of Bihār which is not far off from Nālandā.

the real name of the subduer of the Hūnas in Northern India, as stated above, though, unfortunately, it does not add anything to our knowledge of his ancestry or of his successors, whoever they were. That it lends an additional support to his claim for fame and that it proves for certain that what is stated about him in the above-mentioned epigraphs is not a mere 'oriental hyperbole' but rests on facts need not be emphasized.<sup>1</sup>

Now comes the difficult problem of identifying the minister or *mantrin* who is spoken of as *Mārgapati*, *Udichīpati* and *pratīta-Tikina* in this inscription. But for the reticence of the composers of the *prāśasti* on the nationality and other particulars including the name of this personage, one could have known something definite about him. *Mārgapati* literally means the guardian of road or roads, but from the similar expressions occurring in the chronicles of Kashmir one could take it to mean the guardian of the passes or the frontier. The *Mārgēśas* figure very prominently in the narratives of the later chronicles of the 'Happy Valley' as Sir Aurel Stein<sup>2</sup> has already pointed out. They were also known by other names like *Mārgapas*, *Adhvapas*, *Adhvēśas*, etc., and were generally referred to in the plural and in connection with some particular routes or passes across the mountains, like the *Muliks* of the Muhammadan times. Besides, they were the feudal chiefs who held hereditary charge of specific passes and were bound to furnish garrisons for the frontier posts on these passes in return for the revenue of certain lands assigned to them. In the inscription under notice, on the other hand, only one such 'guardian' is mentioned. He is spoken of in the singular number and is called the 'Lord of the North' and minister of Yaśovarmmadēva, the protector of the world. Apparently, he was the Chief of such Guardians of Passes whose official status must have been higher than that of the *Drāṅgēśas* or *Mārgēśas* of the Kashmir chronicles. What the *udichī* or north of this record connotes cannot be stated definitely but, possibly, it may not be wrong to take it in the sense of the North-West Frontier of India. This *Udichīpati* or the Lord of the North was, it would seem, the Chief of the Guardians of Passes in that region. This personage is further described as *pratīta-Tikina* and the meaning of this epithet is to be determined. That *pratīta* (*prati* — *ita*) is a Sanskrit word signifying 'distinguished' or 'well-known' requires no proof. *Tikina* is not a Sanskrit word at all. Dr. Sten Konow very kindly tells me that it "is evidently Turki *tigin*, *tegin*, *tāgin*. It means 'a prince of the blood', and is especially used about the son or the brother of the *Khān*. The Chinese render it as *t'o-k'in*. It was one of the words first recognised by Thomsen in the Orkhon Inscriptions" and we "find several instances of its use in Chavannes, *Documents sur les Tou-kiue (Turcs) Occidentaux*". The authors of the *prāśasti*, it would appear, were not aware of other particulars about this 'stranger' and therefore mentioned him by his rank or office only. The name of his son, the actual donor, was known and could not have been omitted. The inscription gives it as *Mālāda* which is also not Sanskrit—though a forced Sanskritic derivation may not be impossible.<sup>3</sup> The other details given about the donor are that he was a scion of a stainless family and the delight, i.e., son, of Bandhumatī and brother of Nirmmalā. Bandhumatī and Nirmmalā might have been the proper names of the two ladies, his mother and his sister, or their epithets only. The former is known to be the name of several women. Both are undoubtedly Sanskritic and could have been applied to ladies of foreign descent also. *Mālāda* was, as is evidenced by this inscription, a devout Buddhist and might have been a proselyte. The offerings of a lamp, *ghee*, scented water, etc., which he brought to Nālandā out of his *bhakti* or devotion to 'the great son of Śuddhōdana', i.e., the Buddha, are like those which the Buddhists from Tibet and other Central

<sup>1</sup> Cf. J. J. Modi, *J. B. B. R. A. S.*, Vol. XXIV (1914-17), p. 595.

<sup>2</sup> Notes on the *Rājatarāṅgini*, Vol. I, p. 214; Vol. II, pp. 291 & 392.

<sup>3</sup> However, it reminds me of *Malāda* of the *Mahābhārata* (Sabhā° XXXI, 9) and of the *Kāśyamīmāṃsā* (Gaek. Or. Series No. I, p. 93).

Asian countries are seen bringing to the images of the Buddha at Kasi in the Gōrakhpur district or at Bōdh-Gayā and other sacred places even now.

The remaining persons spoken of in the *praśasti* are the monk *Pūrṇendrasēna* and the two poets who composed it. Whether the former belonged to Nālandā itself or to some other locality is not definitely stated in the record but it does not look improbable that he was one of the great teachers of Nālandā itself. Of the two authors of the composition *Svāmidatta* is described as a *prathīta-karaṇika*, i.e., a celebrated officer in charge of documents. No particulars are given about the joint author, namely, *Śilachandra*.

As to the identity of Nālandā no remarks are needed, for it is too well-known to require any. A few points about this locality, however, seem to be worth mentioning here. The first is its designation which is certainly Nālandā (ending in long vowel, i.e., ā) and not Nālāndā (ending in short vowel, i.e., a) as is sometimes erroneously supposed to be.<sup>1</sup> The name ending in the long vowel not only occurs in this and other inscriptions but in literature also, both Buddhist as well as Jaina. I am not aware if the locality figures in Brahmanical literature at all. It goes back to the time of Mahāvīra, the twenty-fourth Jina, and of Gautama Buddha, i.e., at least five centuries before the birth of Christ. The Jaina accounts<sup>2</sup> would show that it was a very prosperous and sacred *bāhrikā* or suburb of Rājagṛha where Mahāvīra spent fourteen *chāturmāsya*s. Early Buddhist literature<sup>3</sup> also testifies to its pristine glory: But it looks curious that in neither of them it figures as a university or centre of learning. Possibly it grew as such later, i.e., about the period when the great pilgrim of China, namely, Hiuen Tsiang, came to study there. The description of the *chaityas* or *vihāras*, the *prāsādas* or *dāvālayas*, etc., as given in this interesting document, however, would show that the pilgrim's description of its splendour must have been based on facts.

<sup>1</sup> The name ending in the short vowel, i.e., a, is given in *C. I. I.*, Vol. III, p. 210, *Buddhist Records of the Western World*, pp. 167, etc., and *The Life of Nāgārjuna from Tibetan and Chinese Sources* by M. Walleiser (Reprint from *Asia Major*, Hirth Anniversary Volume, Leipzig, pp. 15, etc.).

<sup>2</sup> (1) See *Sūtrakṛtiāṅga*, 7th Lecture (Chapter on Nālandā), of the Second Book.

Teṇaṁ kālēṇaṁ teṇaṁ samaṇaṁ Rāyagihe nāmaṁ nayare hotthā riddhipphīta samiddhe vaṇṇaṁ jāva paḍirūve tassaṇaṁ Rāyagihassa nayaṇassa bahiyā uttara-purattihime diḍḍhā eṭṭhaṇaṁ Nālandānāmaṁ bahiriyaṁ hotthā apogabhavayassa yasannivittā jāva paḍirūvā || 1 ||

(2) *Kalpasūtra* of Bhadrabāhu (ed. H. Jacobi), Leipzig, 1879, p. 64, para. 122.

Rāyagihāṁ nagaraṁ Nālandāṁ cha bahiriyaṁ.

(3) The *Pārvadēśachaitya-paripāṭi* which was composed by Paṇḍita Haṁsasāma in V. S. 1565 and has lately been published in the *Yasāvijaya-Jainagranthamālā*, Bhāvanagara (Kathiawad) says :—  
Nālandai pādai chanda-chaumāsa sunijai  
Hauḍa lokaprasiddha te Badagāma kahijai  
Solaprasādatihāṁ achchhai Jinabimbanaṁijai.

(4) The *Sammēlakikharatthamālā* is more explicit. It records :—  
Bāhiri Nālanda pāḍo  
Sūṇayo tassa punyapavāḍo  
Vira chandarahā chaumāsa  
Hauḍa Badagāma nivāsa  
Bimhudehare ekaso pratimā navilahi i Bodhani gaṇimā.

\* References to Buddhist works are several and I have dealt with them in the paper which I read before the All-India Oriental Conference at Lahore in 1928. (*Proceedings, Fifth Indian Oriental Conference*, Vol. I, pp. 386 ff.). Here I may allude to *Majjhima-Nikāya*, Vol. I, p. 377.

"Taṁ kiṁ maññesi gaḥapati : Ayaṁ Nālandā iddhā ch'eva phitā cha bahujanā ākinna-manussā ti."  
"Evam bhanto, ayaṁ Nālandā iddhā ch'eva phitā cha bahujanā ākinna-manussā ti."





[illegible]

As to the name *Narddarikā* occurring in this record, it might have been an ancient streamlet or a lake at Nālandā.

TEXT.<sup>1</sup>

- Line 1 शंभारुखिख(व)सनात्कृतमतिर्मोक्षाय यो देहिनां कारुण्याप्रसभं  
शरीरमपि यो दत्वा तुतोषार्थिने [१\*] सेन्द्रैर्यः स्वशिरःकिरोटमकरो-  
वृष्टाङ्गि-
- „ 2 पद्मः सुरैस्तस्मै सर्व्वपदार्थतत्त्वविदुषे वु(वु)काय नित्वं नमः ॥ [१<sup>३</sup> ॥\*]  
सर्व्वेषां मूर्ध्नि दत्वा पदमवनिभृतामुद्गतो भूरिधामा निस्त्रिंशंशुप्रतानप्रद-  
लितनिखिलारातिघो-
- „ 3 शान्तकारः [१\*] ख्यातो यो लोकपालः सकलवसुमतोपद्भिनीवो(वो)ध-  
हितः श्रोमान्मास्त्रानिवोच्चैस्तपति दिशिदिशि श्रीयशोवर्मदेवः ॥ [२<sup>४</sup> ॥\*]  
तस्यासौ परमप्रसादम-
- „ 4 हितः श्रीमान्तुदाराशयः पुत्रो मार्गपतेः प्रतोतति किनोदोचीपतेर्मन्त्रिणः [१\*]  
मालादो भुवि नन्दनोरिदमनो यो व(व)भुमत्यास्रधोर्दीनाशपरिपूरणे-
- „ 5 कचतुरो धीरो विशुद्धान्वयः ॥ [३<sup>३</sup> ॥\*] यामावूर्जितवैरिभूप्रविगलद्दानास्रु(स्रु)-  
पानोद्भमन्माद्यद्भृङ्गकरोन्द्रकुम्भदलनप्राप्तश्रियाम्भुजाम् । नालन्दा ह-
- „ 6 सतीव सर्व्वनगरीः शुभ्राभ्रगौरस्फुरच्चैत्यांशुप्रकसैस्सदागमकलाविख्यातविह-  
ज्जना ॥ [४<sup>३</sup> ॥\*] यस्यामस्रु(स्रु)धरावलेहिशिखरश्रेणी वि-
- „ 7 हारावली मालेवोर्ध्वविराजिनो विरचिता धात्वा मनोज्ञा भुवः [१\*]  
नानारत्नमयस्रजालखचितप्रासाददेवालयो सद्विद्याधरमङ्ग-
- „ 8 रम्यवसतिर्धत्ते सुमेरोः श्रियम् ॥ [५<sup>३</sup> ॥\*] अवास[ह्य]पराक्रमप्रणयिना जित्वा-  
स्त्रिंशान्विद्धिषो वा(वा)लादित्यमहानृपेण सकलभुक्ता च भूमण्डलम् [१\*]
- „ 9 प्रासादः सुमहानयन्मगवतः शोभादनेरद्भुतः कैलासाभिभवच्छ्रेयस धवलो  
मन्ये समुत्थापितः ॥ [६<sup>३</sup> ॥\*] अपि च ॥ न्यकुर्व्वन्दिन्दुकार्तिन्नुद्दिनगि-
- „ 10 रिशिरःश्रेणिशोभाद्विरस्रन् शुभ्रामाकाशगङ्गान्तदनु मलिनयन्मकयव्वादि-  
सिन्धून् । मन्ये जेतव्यशून्ये भुवन इह दृथा भ्रान्तिरित्याक-
- „ 11 लय्य भ्रान्त्वा शोणीमशेषाञ्चितविपुलयशस्तथ उच्चैस्स्थितो वा ॥ [७<sup>४</sup> ॥\*]  
अनादयि निवेद्यमान्यदधिमहीपस्तथा भासुरद्यातुर्जातकरेणुमिश्रममल-

<sup>1</sup> From the excellent impressions supplied by Mr. J. A. Page.

• Symbol for *Om* or *Siddham*.

• Metre : Śārdūlavikrīḍitam.

Metre : Śrāgdhara.

- Line 12 न्तोयं सुधाशीतलं । साध्वो चाक्षयनीषिका भगवते वु(बु)हाय शुद्धात्मने  
मालादेन यथोक्तवंशयशसा तेनातिभक्त्या स्वयं ॥[८<sup>१</sup>॥\*] आदिशात्स्फोतशोल-  
श्रुतधवलधि-
- „ 13 यो भिक्षुसङ्घस्य भूयो दत्तन्तेनैव सम्यग्ब(ग्ब)हुष्टदधिभिव्यञ्जनैर्यत्कर्म-  
(म)चं । भिक्षुभ्यस्तच्चतुर्भ्यो [ब]हुसुरभि चतुर्जातकामोदि नित्यं तोयं स[न्ने]  
विभक्तं पुनरपि
- „ 14 विमलं भिक्षुसङ्घाय दत्तम् ॥[८<sup>२</sup>॥\*] तेनैवाङ्गतकर्मणा निजमिह क्रीत्वा-  
[र्य]सङ्गान्तिकान्मुक्ता चीवरिकां प्रदाय विधिना सामान्यमेकन्तथा ।  
कालम्पेरयितुं सुखे-
- „ 15 न लयनन्दत्तं स्वदेशम्विना तेभ्यो नर्दृष्टिकावधेय परतः शाक्यात्मजेभ्यः  
पुनः ॥[१०<sup>०</sup>॥\*] दानं यदेतदमलङ्कुणशालिभिक्षुपूर्णैन्द्रसेनवचनप्रतिवो(बो)-  
धितेन । तेन प्रतीत-
- „ 16 यशसा भुवि निर्मलाया भ्रात्रा व्यधाय शरदिन्दुनिभाननायाः ॥[११<sup>१</sup>॥\*]  
पित्रोर्भ्रातुः कलत्रस्वसृसुतसुहृदान्तस्य धर्मैकधास्त्रो दत्तं दानं यदेतत्सकल-  
मतिरसेनायुरा-
- „ 17 रोम्यहेतोः । सर्वेषाञ्चभ्राजां भवभयजलधेः पारसंतारणार्थं श्रीमत्सम्बो-  
(म्बो)धिकल्पद्रुमविपुलफलप्राप्तये चातुमोदम् ॥[१२<sup>२</sup>॥\*] चन्द्रो यावच्चकास्ति  
स्फुरदुरुकिरणो लो-
- „ 18 कदीपश्च भास्वान् एषा यावच्च धात्रो सजलधिवलयया द्यौश्च दत्ताव-  
काशा । यावच्चैते महान्तो भुवनभरधुरान्धारयन्तो महीध्रास्तावच्चन्द्राव-  
दाता धवलयतु दिशाम्-
- „ 19 खलं कोर्त्तिरेषा ॥[१३<sup>३</sup>॥\*] यो दानस्यास्य कश्चित्कृतजगदवधेरन्तरायं विद-  
ध्यात्काक्षाद्विज्जामनस्यो जिन इह भगवानन्तरस्थः सदास्ते । वा(बा)लादित्येन  
राज्ञा प्रदलितरि-
- „ 20 पुष्पा स्थापितश्चैष शास्ता पञ्चानन्त[र्य]कर्तुर्मतिमतिविषमार्थमहीनः स  
यायात् ॥[१४<sup>४</sup>॥\*] इत्येवं शीलचन्द्रप्रथितकर्णिकस्वामिदत्तावलङ्घ्यां संज्ञायां  
मूर्ध्नि कृत्वा श्रुतलव-
- „ 21 विभवावप्यनालोच्य भारं । हृद्यामेतामुदारां त्वरितमकुरुतामप्रपञ्चां  
प्रशस्तिं वाञ्छेतां किन्न पंगु शिखरितरुफलावासिमुच्चैः करेण ॥[१५<sup>५</sup>॥\*]

\* Metre: Sārdhūlavikrīḍitam.

\* Metre: Sāggharā.

\* Metre: Vasaṭatilikā.—The last akṣara of the first pāda should be treated as gu u.

TRANSLATION.

(Verse 1.) Continual salutation to the Buddha who made up his mind to emancipate living beings from the strong tangles of the world and who felt exceedingly delighted after giving (*his own*) body to the suppliant, whose foot-lotus is rubbed by the gods, including Indra, with the fishes (*engraved*) in the diadems on their heads and who is conversant with the real nature of all the categories.

(V. 2.) The illustrious, prosperous and highly glorious **Yasōvarmmadēva** has risen after placing his foot on the heads of all the kings and has completely removed the terrific darkness in the form of all of his foes by the diffusion of the rays of his sword. He is the celebrated protector of the world and the cause of the excitement of all the *Padminī* women of the earth. He shines above all in every quarter like the resplendent Sun, who has risen after spreading his rays on the tops of all the mountains and has torn asunder by the diffusion of severe rays the foe in the form of terrible darkness, who is the well-known protector of the world and cause of the blooming of all the lotuses of the earth.

(V. 3.) **Mālāda** was the illustrious and magnanimous son of the well-known **Tikina** (*i.e.*, **Tegin**), who was his (**Yasōvarmmadēva**'s) minister, the Guardian of the Frontier and Ruler of the North. He (**Mālāda**), the unrivalled and quick subduer of the enemies, fulfiller of the desires of the supplicants on the earth, resolute, of stainless family and the son (literally, gladdener) of **Bandhumatī**, was honoured by his (**Yasōvarmmadēva**'s) great favour.

(Vv. 4—6.) **Bālāditya**, the great king of irresistible valour, after having vanquished all the foes and enjoyed the entire earth, erected, as if with a view to see the **Kailāsa** mountain surpassed, a great and extraordinary temple (*prāsāda*) of the illustrious son of **Śuddhōdana** (*i.e.*, the Buddha) here at **Nālandā**. **Nālandā** had scholars, well-known for their (*knowledge of the*) sacred texts and arts, and (*was full of the*) heaps of the rays of the *chaityas* shining and bright like white clouds. She was (*consequently*) mocking, as it were, at all the cities of the kings who had acquired wealth by tearing asunder the temples of the great elephants surrounded by the shining black bees which were maddened by drinking the rut in the hostile lands. She had a row of *vihāras*, the line of whose tops touched the clouds. That (*row of vihāras*) was, so to say, the beautiful festoon of the earth, made by the Creator, which looked resplendent in going upwards. **Nālandā** had temples which were brilliant on account of the net-work of the rays of the various jewels set in them and was the pleasant abode of the learned and the virtuous *Saṅgha* and resembled **Sumēru**, the charming residence of the noble *Vidyādharas*.

And—

(V. 7.) (*The prāsāda*), after having gone round the earth and on finding, as it were, that it was a useless wandering when this world had no other structure to be conquered (surpassed), stands aloft, as if it were a column of the great fame it had won, scoffing at the lustre of the moon, disregarding the beauty of the rows of the summits of the Snow-mountain (**Himālaya**), soiling (*i.e.*, throwing into the shade) the white Ganges of the sky, and then turning dumb the streams of disputants.

(V. 8.) Here, **Mālāda** of the above-mentioned family and fame himself brought with great devotion for the pure Lord Buddha the pious permanent grant, pure water as cool as nectar and mixed with the powder of four fragrant objects, as well as, the shining lamp, the offerings of clarified butter and curds.

(V. 9.) Under the order of the community of friars of bright intellect, great piety and learning, he again distributed daily, in a fitting manner, rice with (*various*) preparations, curds and copious *ghee*, to the four monks<sup>1</sup>. He again gave to the assembly of monks the pure and highly fragrant water, perfumed with the four<sup>2</sup> objects (scents) and distributed daily at the *antras*.

<sup>1</sup> Does it mean "monks from the four quarters"?

<sup>2</sup> See above, p. 39, f. n. 2.

(V. 10.) He (Mālāda), whose deeds were wondrous, purchased (*everything of*) his own here (*at Nālandā*) from the revered *Saṅgha* and gave it back (*to the bhikshus*) according to rites, barring the monk's robe. He also gave away to the sons of the Śākya, *i.e.*, Buddhist monks, a common dwelling place (*wherein*) to spend time happily, up to and beyond Narddarikā, excepting a place for himself.<sup>1</sup>

(V. 11.) This stainless gift has been made by him who is the brother of Nirmmalā<sup>2</sup> whose face resembled the autumnal moon. His fame is spread over the world and he has been awakened by the words of the monk Pūrṇendrasēna, who shines by his excellence.

(V. 12.) All this gift has been given with great devotion for the sake of the welfare and longevity of the parents, brother, wife, sister, son and friends of him (*i.e.*, Mālāda) who is the sole repository of virtue. May it be approved so that the living beings might cross the fearful ocean of the world and attain the great fruit of the Wishing Tree in the form of the sacred Enlightenment (*Bōdhi*).

(V. 13.) As long as the Moon shines and the Sun, the lamp of the world, with his lustrous and extensive rays (*sheds light*), as long as this earth together with the encompassing ocean endures and the sky, which gives space, lasts, and as long as these great mountains, bearing the yoke of the world, remain, so long let this *kīrti*, which is pure like the Moon, whiten the circle of (*all*) the quarters.

(V. 14.) Whoever interferes with this gift, which has to last as long as the world endures, will, void of virtue as he is, have the dire fate of one who commits the five sins—(*let him know*) that the Lord Jina (the Buddha) is here ever present within, occupying the adamant seat and that the great king Bālāditya has established this command (or the image of the Buddha).<sup>3</sup>

(V. 15.) Thus, Śilachandra and the well-known *Karaṇika* Svāmidatta, having placed the order of the *Saṅgha* on their head, without considering the weight (*of responsibility*), composed at once this beautiful and sublime, though simple, *praśasti*, although the wealth of their knowledge is small, for, will not even the cripples<sup>4</sup> wish to get the fruits from the tree on the mountain by raising (*their*) hand ?

### No. 3.—THREE TAMIL INSCRIPTIONS OF LALGUDI.

By K. V. SUBRAHMANYA AIYER, B.A., M.R.A.S., OOTACAMUND.

The three inscriptions which form the subject of this article are incised on the north wall of the Saptarishisvara temple at **Lalgudi** in the Trichinopoly district. For the sake of convenience, I call them A, B and C. Inscription A is dated in the year opposite to the fourth (*i.e.*, the fifth year) of some king whose name is not given in it. It registers a gift of money made by the Pallava king Nandippōttaraiyar who fought the battle of **Tellāru** and gained victory in it, for burning a perpetual lamp in the temple of Mahādēva at Tiruttavatturai in **Idaiyārru-nādu**. The amount was received by the members of the assembly of **Nallimaṅgalam** who bound themselves to bring to the temple and measure out daily (*one*) *nāḷi* of ghee.

<sup>1</sup> Does all this mean that Mālāda became a Buddhist monk for some time and again became a *grihastha* as the Burmese do even now-a-days ?

<sup>2</sup> See above, page 41.

<sup>3</sup> See foot-note 1 on page 39 above. The construction of this verse is not quite clear. Dr. Vogel thinks that the stanza might be referring to two images of the Buddha—the Buddha of the Vajrasana, being the Bōdhi image enshrined in the principal temple, and second, of the Teacher, perhaps an image of the Buddha shown in the act of teaching, which had been consecrated by Bālāditya.

<sup>4</sup> The word *paṇḍu* is put in the dual number because the *praśasti* was composed by two authors.

Inscription B is dated on the day of Śadaiyam (Śatabhishak) corresponding to a Tuesday in the month of Dhanuṣ falling in the ninth year opposite to the fourth (i.e., the thirteenth year) of the reign of king Mārañjaḍaiyaṇ. In the body of the record the king is called Pāṇḍyakulapati Varaguṇa-Mahārāya. The inscription states that the king gave 120 *kāṣu* to a certain Aṇḍaṭṭu-Vēlāṇ. This amount was finally received by the members of the assembly of Iḷamperuṅkāy-irukkai in Iḍaiyāṇṇu-nāḍu who bound themselves to supply towards interest, the capital remaining intact, one *uṭi* of ghee daily for burning a perpetual lamp in the temple. In case of default the assembly further agreed to pay a fine of 500 *kāṇam* (of gold). Inscription C is dated in the thirteenth year of the reign of the Chōla king Rājakēsarivarman. It states that the king's uterine sister Nāṅgai-Varaguṇa-Perumāṇār gave 30 *kalaṅṇu* of gold for a perpetual lamp to be burnt in the temple with one *uṭi* of ghee daily. The assembly of Maṇalkāl, a *brahmadēya* of Kālāra-kūṇṇam which was a subdivision of Vaḍagarai-Maḷa-nāḍu, received the amount given and sold a piece of land in exchange to the temple.

Before taking up the question of the date of these three inscriptions, I may point out straightway that they are written in the same hand and script and must consequently have been inscribed simultaneously. I may here add that there is another inscription in this very temple which is coeval with these records and is, apparently, written by the same hand though it refers itself to the Pallava king Nripataṅgarvarman. It has already been published in the *South-Indian Inscriptions (Texts)*, Volume IV.<sup>1</sup> Inscriptions of the three kings mentioned in these records are also found in several other places. But they are all written in varying types of the Tamil script not resembling the one in which the three inscriptions under notice are incised. As these kings flourished at different periods, the records belonging to their respective reigns could not have been written in the same hand. Consequently, the Lalgudi inscriptions under examination, written as they are in the same hand, must be treated as later copies of older records made probably at the time when the temple where they are found was renovated or repaired. Palaeographically they can be assigned to the 10th century of the Christian era.

The inscription which I call C purports to belong to a ruler who is the latest among the kings mentioned in these three inscriptions. The princess referred to in it figures as the queen of Parāntaka Iḷaṅgōvēlār<sup>2</sup> in another inscription of Rājakēsarivarman which was found at Tillaisthānam in the district of Tanjore. She is also mentioned in a somewhat later record belonging to the third year of Parakēsarivarman.<sup>3</sup> The Tillaisthānam inscription of Rājakēsarivarman, unlike the Lalgudi inscription, marks the *puḷḷi* or *virāma* as do the Takkōlam and other inscriptions of Rājakēsarivarman, i.e., Āditya I, and ought to be assigned to the same ruler. Two other epigraphs found at Tiruppalātturai<sup>4</sup> refer to Teṇṇavaṇ Iḷaṅgōvēlār which is another name for Parāntaka, Iḷaṅgōvēlār. They tell us that he was also called Maṇavan Pūḍiyār. One of them mentions his queen Kaṇṇalippirāṭṭiyār also. The name Pūḍiyār given to Iḷaṅgōvēlār and the mention of his queen would show that he is identical with the Koḍumbālūr chief Bhūti-Vikramakēsari who is reported in the Mūvarkōvil inscription to have married Kaṇṇali and Varaguṇā.<sup>5</sup> From a Tiruchchendurai inscription we learn that he had a daughter named Pūdi-Ādichchapiḍāriyār who was the queen of Arikulakēsari, i.e., Ariṇjaya<sup>6</sup> the son of the Chōla king Parāntaka I. I have shown

<sup>1</sup> See plate (VII) opposite to p. 173.

<sup>2</sup> *South-Indian Inscriptions*, Vol. III, No. 113.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* No. 127.

<sup>4</sup> Nos. 258 and 273 of Appendix A to the *Annual Report on South-Indian Epigraphy* for 1903-04, and para. 90 of part II of the *Annual Report on South-Indian Epigraphy* for 1907-08.

<sup>5</sup> *Annual Report on South-Indian Epigraphy* for 1907-08, para. 90 of Part II.

<sup>6</sup> Nos. 316, 317 and 319 of Appendix A to the *Annual Report on South-Indian Epigraphy* for 1903-04.

elsewhere<sup>1</sup> that Āditya I must have ascended the throne in A.D. 871. Accordingly, the Lalgudi inscription, which also belongs to him, must be assigned to A.D. 883-4, for it is dated in the 13th year of his reign.

To settle the dates of the inscriptions A and B we have to consider the way in which they are dated. We find that they give some year opposite to the fourth. This mode of dating was adopted by the Pāṇḍya king Māraṇjadaiyan *alias* Varaguṇa-Mahārāja, as is evidenced by several inscriptions of his reign which have already been brought to light.<sup>2</sup> Consequently, these two records also should be ascribed to the same ruler.

We have now to establish the date of the accession of Teḷḷārreṇḍa-Nandippōttavarman and of his contemporary Varaguṇa-Mahārāja I, who was the grandfather of Varaguṇavarman II and father of Śrīmāra Śrīvallabha Parachakrakōlāhala, the conqueror of Ceylon. The *Mahāvamsa* tells us that there was a Pāṇḍya invasion of Ceylon during the reign of Silāmēgha Sēna I (A.D. 846 to 866), in which the Pāṇḍya king came off completely victorious and took possession of the capital and carried away a large amount of booty, though he eventually restored the Sinhalese kingdom to its rightful king. The only early Pāṇḍya king who is known from the Siṅgaṇaṇūr plates to have invaded and conquered Ceylon is Śrīmāra. From the facts recorded in the *Mahāvamsa* it can be gathered that his reign covered the last 3 years of the rule of Dappula and probably commenced in the year 840 and ended in 862 A.D. when his eldest son Varaguṇavarman II succeeded him. Śrīmāra's predecessor, namely, Varaguṇa-Mahārāja I, must have reigned prior to 840 A.D. His latest regnal year so far known from inscriptions is the seventeenth and we can reasonably state that his rule over the Pāṇḍya country may have extended from 823 to 840 A.D. though it is not impossible that it might have commenced a few years earlier. The date of Varaguṇa I can approximately be ascertained from the chronology of the Pallava kings from Nandivarman Pallavamalla to Aparājita. The Vēlūrpālaiyam plates give us the genealogy of the latter Pallavas for three generations commencing from Nandivarman II Pallavamalla.<sup>3</sup> They state that Pallavamalla's son was Dantivarman and that the latter's son was Nandivarman III. This information is supplemented by the Bāhūr plates which tell us that Dantivarman's son was Nandivarman III, who had for his queen the Rāshtrakūṭa princess Śaṅkhā, and that the latter's son was Nripatuṅga.<sup>4</sup> It is to be noted that in these plates no mention is made of Kampavarman and the name Kampavarman was not borne by any one of the above mentioned kings. If Kampavarman was a lineal descendant of Nandivarman Pallavamalla, we might tentatively assume that he was another, and, perhaps, the younger son of Nandivarman III. The name Nandi-Kampēśvara given to the temple at Śōlapuram may have been called after Kampavarman, the son of Nandivarman.<sup>5</sup> It may be pointed out here that both the palaeographical peculiarities of Kampavarman's epigraphs and the genealogy furnished by the Vēlūrpālaiyam as well as the Bāhūr plates do not admit of any place for him before Nripatuṅga. It will be shown presently that he cannot be made the immediate successor of Nripatuṅga. Therefore the only inference that could be drawn regarding Kampavarman is that he must have been a joint ruler with either Nripatuṅga or Aparājita

<sup>1</sup> *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XIX, pp. 81 ff.

<sup>2</sup> See *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. IX, pp. 34 ff., and No. 13 of Appendix C of the *Annual Report on South-Indian Epigraphy* for 1907-08, Nos. 90 and 137 of Appendix B of the *Annual Report on South-Indian Epigraphy* for 1908-09, Nos. 358 and 364 of Appendix B of the *Annual Report on South-Indian Epigraphy* for 1907-08 and No. 84 of Appendix C of the *Annual Report on South-Indian Epigraphy* for 1909-10.

<sup>3</sup> *South-Indian Inscriptions*, Vol. II, pp. 501 ff.

<sup>4</sup> *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XVIII, pp. 5 ff.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, Vol. VII, p. 196. The name Kampavarman, just like Nripatuṅga, also suggests that he might have been so called after Kambha (Stambha), the eldest son of the Rāshtrakūṭa king Dhāravarsha Dhruva. In that case Nandivarman might have married a daughter of Kambha (or Stambha).



or with both.<sup>1</sup> Therefore, it is needless to take his reign into consideration to determine the period when the later Pallavas ruled. From the Āmbūr inscription dated in the 26th year of the reign of Nripatuṅga, we learn that the Gaṅga king Prithvīpati I was a subordinate of that Pallava king.<sup>2</sup> And since it is recorded in the Udayēndiram plates that this very Gaṅga king was an ally of the Pallava king Aparājita and fought under his standard and secured victory for him in the battle of Śrīpurambiyam against Varaguṇa (II),<sup>3</sup> it might be said that Aparājita<sup>4</sup> was the immediate successor of Nripatuṅga. That he was the last Pallava ruler of Kāñchī is known from the Tiruvālaṅgādu plates which report that the Chōla king Āditya I killed him and took possession of his kingdom.<sup>5</sup> This event, we have reasons to believe, must have taken place before A.D. 891, for it is stated in an inscription at Tirumālpuram near Conjeeveram that the village of Śirriyārrūr in Maṇaiyil-nādu was granted as a *dēvadāna* and as a *brahmadēya* in the 21st year of Tonḍaimān-Ārrūr-tuṅjiṇa-uḍaiyār i.e., Āditya I.<sup>6</sup> If we allow at least two years for his settlement in the newly conquered country, it may be said that Āditya I killed Aparājita in about A.D. 888. The latest dates furnished by the stone inscriptions for Nandivarman Pallavamalla, Dantivarman, Nandivarman, the victor of Tellāru, i.e., Nandivarman III, Nripatuṅga and Aparājita are 65, 52, 22, 26 and 18, respectively. With the help of these, supplemented to a certain extent by the light of contemporary history, we shall try to settle the chronology of the later Pallava sovereigns. Keeping A.D. 888 as the last year of Aparājita and deducting from it 18, which is the highest regnal year known for him,<sup>7</sup> we get A.D. 870 for his accession. This date must, therefore, be the year when his predecessor Nripatuṅga ceased to rule. Since the latest regnal year so far found for him is 26,<sup>8</sup> we get A.D. 844 for his accession. It may be noted here that the initial year of Nripatuṅga's reign cannot be earlier than this date because in a record of his 18th year the Pāṇḍya king Varaguṇa-Mahārāja (II) figures as donor<sup>9</sup> and we know for certain that that king's accession took place in A.D. 862.<sup>10</sup> We have to take A.D. 844 as the last year of Nripatuṅga's father Nandivarman III, the victor of Tellāru. The latest regnal year found for him in the inscriptions mentioning the victory of Tellāru is 22.<sup>11</sup> But there is a possibility of his having reigned longer.<sup>12</sup> If he had a reign of 22 years, his accession would have to be placed in A.D. 822. This cannot be the case for, we learn from the Western-Gaṅga grants that the Rāshtrakūṭa king Gōvinda III and the Pallava king Nandivarman—both crowned kings themselves—fastened the fillet of royalty on the forehead of Śivamāra II Saigoṭṭa.<sup>13</sup> The last year of Gōvinda

<sup>1</sup> In a Tamil inscription of Uttaramallūr of the time of Kampavarman dated in his 15th year whose text (No. 325) is published in the *S. I. I. (Texts)*, Vol. VI, the donor is Seyya-Aparājita, and he is called Perumāpadigaḷ-adiyāṇ.

<sup>2</sup> *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. IV, p. 182.

<sup>3</sup> *S. I. I.*, Vol. II, p. 384.

<sup>4</sup> It is learnt from No. 350 of Vol. VI of *S. I. I. (Texts)*, that Aparājita bore the title Rājamārttāṇḍa.

<sup>5</sup> *S. I. I.*, Vol. III, p. 419, v. 49. This statement is confirmed by a stone inscription found at Tillasthānam which styles Āditya I as "Rājakēsarivarman who extended his territory into Tonḍai-nādu" (*Ibid.*, p. 221, No. 89).

<sup>6</sup> *Annual Report on Epigraphy* for 1907, Part II, paras. 29 and 30.

<sup>7</sup> No. 435 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection for 1905.

<sup>8</sup> *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. IV, p. 182.

<sup>9</sup> No. 360 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1921.

<sup>10</sup> No. 705 of the same collection for 1905.

<sup>11</sup> No. 180 of the same collection for 1907.

<sup>12</sup> In the numerous epigraphs dated simply in the reign of Nandivarman without the distinguishing epithets 'Pallavamalla' or 'Tellārrerinda' there must be some belonging to Nandivarman III, while the others may be of Pallavamalla.

<sup>13</sup> *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. V, pp. 158 and 161.



III being A.D. 814<sup>1</sup> this event should have occurred before that date, say about A.D. 812. Accordingly, we have to take back the year of accession of Nandivarman III by ten years. Looking at the fact that Nandivarman Pallavamalla and his son Dantivarman had unusually long reigns, extending to 65 and 51 years,<sup>2</sup> it seems improbable that Nandivarman III, who succeeded Dantivarman, could have ruled long and, since the last year of his reign cannot be taken earlier than A.D. 844, it will be safe to assume that his rule lasted from A.D. 812 to 844. Deducting 51 from 812 and 65 from the balance we get the initial dates of Dantivarman and Nandivarman Pallavamalla. Their reigns should, therefore, have extended from A.D. 761 to 812 and A.D. 696 to 761. The chronology as worked out from these facts and others noted later on is shown below :—

Pāṇḍya kings.	Pallava kings.	Rāshtrakūṭas.	Western Gaṅgas.	Chōḷas.
Māra-varman	Nandivarman II Pallavamalla			
Neḍuñjaḍaiyaṇ				
Rājasimha	Dantivarman	Gōvinda III	Śivamāra II	
Varaṅga I	Nandivarman III			
Śrīmāra	Nripataṅga	Amōghavarsha I	Prithvīpati I	
Varaṅga II	Aparājita			
				Āditya I

Since Nandivarman, the victor of Teḷḷāru, figures as donor in the Laḷgudi inscription A dated in the 5th year, evidently of the reign of Mārañjaḍaiyaṇ *alias* Varaṅga-Mahārāja I, that record cannot be placed earlier than A.D. 812 or later than A.D. 844 which are the initial and closing years of Nandivarman III. From this, it is clear that the date of accession of Varaṅga I cannot be taken to an earlier date than A.D. 807. We have already shown that it cannot be later than A.D. 823. In order to arrive at the actual year of accession of Varaṅga I, the astronomical details furnished in two inscriptions, which are both dated in 4+9th (*i.e.*, the 13th) year of Mārañjaḍaiyaṇ (*i.e.*, Varaṅga-Mahārāja I), may be considered here. One of them is the inscription B edited below and the other is from Tiruveḷḷarai.<sup>3</sup> While the former gives the astronomical combination (a) *Dhanus, Tuesday and the nakṣatra Śatabhishaj*, the latter furnishes another set of combinations, *viz.*, (b) *Vṛiśchika, Monday and the nakṣatra Āśvinī* in the same year, *i.e.*, 13th. Between A.D. 800 and 852, though there are several years in which each set of combinations occurred separately, the following table gives such of those years only as con-

<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.*, Vol. III, p. 54.

<sup>2</sup> No. 666 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1922 and No. 262 of the same collection for 1924.

<sup>3</sup> The details of date furnished in this record have been calculated by the late Mr. R. Sewell for Varaṅga I in *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XI, p. 233. But as it is dated in the 9th year opposite to the fourth it is clearly a record of Varaṅga I.

tained both sets of details, the days corresponding to the combinations (a) and (b), the initial and fifth years of the king :—

No.	Year.	Equivalents of (a) and (b).	Initial year.	5th year.
1	814	(a) Tuesday, 19th Dec. . . . . (b) Monday, 30th Novr. . . . .	801 A.D. .	806 A.D.
2	817	(a) Tuesday, 15th Dec. . . . . (b) Monday, 26th Octr. . . . .	804 . .	809
3	824	(a) Tuesday, 29th Novr. . . . . (b) Monday, 7th Novr. f.d.n. 71 . . . .	811 . .	816
4	831	(a) Tuesday, 12th Dec. f.d.n. 38 . . . . (b) Monday, 20th Novr. f.d.n. 01 . . . .	818 . .	823
5	834	(a) Tuesday, 8th Dec. f.d.n. 56 . . . . (b) Monday, 16th Novr. f.d.n. 70 . . . .	821 . .	826
6	841	(a) Tuesday, 22nd Novr. f.d.n. 23 . . . . (b) Monday, 31st Octr. f.d.n. 94 . . . .	828 . .	833
7	851	(a) Tuesday, 1st Dec. . . . . (b) Monday, 9th Novr. . . . .	838 . .	843

Since the first two give the fifth year equivalents A.D. 806 and 809 they have to be rejected for the reason that *Tellāṟṟeṟinda* Nandivarman cannot figure in them. Similarly, Nos. 6 and 7 have to be abandoned because, according to them, the 17th year would work out to be A.D. 845 and 855, both of which are later than the lower limit fixed for Varaguna I. The only three that could be adopted are Nos. 3, 4 and 5 which would give us, for the king's succession, the years A.D. 811, 818 and 821. Even out of these, Nos. 4 and 5 may be given up as their adoption would narrow the possible longer range of reigns of both Varaguna I and Śrīmāra. It seems that the only probable date for Varaguna's accession is A.D. 811. This conclusion is not entirely without grounds. The internal evidence furnished in the *Āṇamalai* inscription, *Madras Museum Plates* and the *Vālvikuḍi* grant shows that A.D. 770 must fall somewhere between the 3rd and 17th years of the reign of Parāntaka Neḍuñjaḍaiyaṇ to whose time they all belong<sup>1</sup>. After Parāntaka and before Varaguna I, only a single king intervened, i.e., Rājasimha and his reign, as at present known, was an eventless one. Therefore, the period of forty-one years from A.D. 770 to A.D. 811 is more than sufficient to cover the rest of the reign of Parāntaka Neḍuñjaḍaiyaṇ from the time of the *Āṇamalai* record and the eventless rule of Rājasimha. For these reasons, therefore, adopting A.D. 811 as the date of accession of Varaguna I, we may assign A.D. 816 to inscription A and A.D. 824 to B.

Of the places mentioned in these inscriptions, many can be easily identified. *Tirut-tavatturai*<sup>2</sup> must be Lalgudi itself because, the inscriptions are found there. *Maṇakkāl*<sup>3</sup> is the homonymous village in the Trichinopoly district and *Eḍayattimaṅgalam*, not far from Lalgudi, might have been the principal place in *Idaiyāṟṟu-nāḍu* in which *Tirut-tavatturai* is said to have been situated. I am not able to trace *Nallimaṅgalam* and *Ḵamperuṅgāy-irukkai*. *Tellāṟu*, where Nandivarman gained a victory, is in the *Wandiwash taluk* of the North Arcot district.

<sup>1</sup> See *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XXII, pp. 57 ff.; *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XVII, pp. 291 ff.; and *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VIII, pp. 317 ff.

<sup>2</sup> There is also a village, called *Tirut-tavatturaikkattalai* in the Trichinopoly District.

<sup>3</sup> A village of this name is in *Uḍaiyārpālaiyam taluk*, but this cannot be the one referred to in these inscriptions.



## TEXT OF A.

- 1 Svasti śrī [||\*] Yāṇḍu 4-vadiṇ edirām-āṇḍu Idaiyāṇṇu-nāṭṭu-tTiruttavatturai-Māhādēvark 'ku' Teḷḷāṇṇu-ēṇḍuveṇa Nandippōtta[r]ai-
- 2 yar kuḍutta paḷaṇ-kāṣu 60-du [||\*] ivv-aṇupadu kāsum i-nṇāṭṭu Nallimaṅgalattu sabhaiyōm ivv-aṇupadu kāṣu(m) Tiruttavatturai-Mahādēvar-
- 3 idai koṇḍu nārāya-nāliyāl nīṣadi nāli ney oru nondā-viḷakku āndir-ādittaval irav[um] pagalum eriya-kkoṇḍu-ṣeṇṇu aḷappōmā[nō]-
- 4 m[||\*] Nallimaṅgalattu sabhaiyōm Tiruttavatturai-Mahē(hā)dēvarkku aḷavōmāyil muṭṭil muṭṭ-iraṭṭiyum mūlappaṭṭa paṇ-mahēśvara[rē]
- 5 sabhaiy-āgavum tanitt-āgavum nilaikkāḷam-uḷḷiṭṭa tān vēṇḍu kōviṇukku pukka  
 5<sup>1</sup> iru-nūṇṇu-ppadiṇṇ-āṇṇu kāṇam daṇḍam=iḍa [v]e-
- 6 ṭṭinōm Nallimaṅgalattu sabhaiyōm [||\*] idu paṇ-māhēśvarar nāṇṇipatt-ēṇṇāyiravarum  
 i(i)rakshai ||.

## TRANSLATION.

Hail! Prosperity! In the year opposite to 4, Nandippōttaraiyar, who fought the battle of Teḷḷāṇṇu and gained victory (in it), gave 60 old kāṣu to (the temple of) Mahādēva at Tiruttavatturai in Idaiyāṇṇu-nāḍu. Having received from the temple of the Mahādēva of Tiruttavatturai these sixty kāṣu,<sup>3</sup> we, (the members of) the assembly of Nallimaṅgalam in this nāḍu, bound ourselves to take (to the temple) and measure out daily (one) nāli of ghee by the measure called nārāya-nāli, for burning one perpetual lamp as long as the sun and moon last. If we, (the members of) the assembly of Nallimaṅgalam, fail (in our undertaking) and do not measure out (the ghee) to the temple of the Mahādēva of Tiruttavatturai, all the Māhēśvaras attached to the central shrine<sup>4</sup> shall levy on (us, the members of) the assembly, as a body or individually, a fine of two hundred and sixteen kāṇam and this shall be paid to the royal officers<sup>5</sup> inclusive of the nilaikkāḷam<sup>6</sup> whichever they desire. Thus we, (the members of) the assembly of Nallimaṅgalam, had this (edict) incised. This (charity) shall be under the protection of all the Forty-Eight Thousand Māhēśvaras.

## TEXT OF B.

- 1 Svasti śrī [||\*] Kō-Māraṇḍaiyarkku yāṇḍu 4-vadiṇ edir 9-ām-āṇḍu Dhanu-nāyirru Śevvā[y\*]-kkiḷamai perṇa Śadaiya(m)ttu [nā] I]-
- 2 daiyāṇṇu-nāṭṭu Tiruttavatturai-Māhādēvarkku<sup>1</sup> iravum pagalum āndir-ādittaval iraṇḍu no[nḍā-ttiru-viḷakku]
- 3 erippadāga kō-Māraṇḍaiyāṇa(ā)yīṇa Pāṇḍya-kulapati Varaguṇa-Māhārāyar<sup>2</sup> Aṇḍa-nāṭṭu-Vēḷāṇ [k]aiy[il-kkuḍutta pa]ḷa[n]-

<sup>1</sup> Read Mahādēvarkku.

<sup>2</sup> The symbols can be read as vūḷa (mistake for vūḷa) which with the preceding pukka becomes pukkar-uḷa.

<sup>3</sup> The words 'ivv-aṇupadu kāsum' are repeated twice in the record.

<sup>4</sup> The words 'mūlappaṭṭa paṇ-mahēśvara' here used stand in the place of 'mūlappaṭṭuḍai paṇḍi-āḷḍarva dēvakaṇmi' occurring in other inscriptions. The body meant by the term appears to have been constituted into an assembly for managing the affairs of the temple and was called 'uṇṇāḷigai-vāriya' or 'uṇṇāḷigai-saḷḷai'.

<sup>5</sup> 'Kō' literally means 'a king'.

<sup>6</sup> Nilai=stationary and kāḷam=field or body. As such, the expression may mean 'a standing committee'.

<sup>7</sup> Read Mahārāyar.

A AND B

1. 2. 3. 4. 5. 6. 7. 8. 9. 10. 11. 12. 13. 14. 15. 16. 17. 18. 19. 20. 21. 22. 23. 24. 25. 26. 27. 28. 29. 30. 31. 32. 33. 34. 35. 36. 37. 38. 39. 40. 41. 42. 43. 44. 45. 46. 47. 48. 49. 50. 51. 52. 53. 54. 55. 56. 57. 58. 59. 60. 61. 62. 63. 64. 65. 66. 67. 68. 69. 70. 71. 72. 73. 74. 75. 76. 77. 78. 79. 80. 81. 82. 83. 84. 85. 86. 87. 88. 89. 90. 91. 92. 93. 94. 95. 96. 97. 98. 99. 100. 101. 102. 103. 104. 105. 106. 107. 108. 109. 110. 111. 112. 113. 114. 115. 116. 117. 118. 119. 120. 121. 122. 123. 124. 125. 126. 127. 128. 129. 130. 131. 132. 133. 134. 135. 136. 137. 138. 139. 140. 141. 142. 143. 144. 145. 146. 147. 148. 149. 150. 151. 152. 153. 154. 155. 156. 157. 158. 159. 160. 161. 162. 163. 164. 165. 166. 167. 168. 169. 170. 171. 172. 173. 174. 175. 176. 177. 178. 179. 180. 181. 182. 183. 184. 185. 186. 187. 188. 189. 190. 191. 192. 193. 194. 195. 196. 197. 198. 199. 200. 201. 202. 203. 204. 205. 206. 207. 208. 209. 210. 211. 212. 213. 214. 215. 216. 217. 218. 219. 220. 221. 222. 223. 224. 225. 226. 227. 228. 229. 230. 231. 232. 233. 234. 235. 236. 237. 238. 239. 240. 241. 242. 243. 244. 245. 246. 247. 248. 249. 250. 251. 252. 253. 254. 255. 256. 257. 258. 259. 260. 261. 262. 263. 264. 265. 266. 267. 268. 269. 270. 271. 272. 273. 274. 275. 276. 277. 278. 279. 280. 281. 282. 283. 284. 285. 286. 287. 288. 289. 290. 291. 292. 293. 294. 295. 296. 297. 298. 299. 300. 301. 302. 303. 304. 305. 306. 307. 308. 309. 310. 311. 312. 313. 314. 315. 316. 317. 318. 319. 320. 321. 322. 323. 324. 325. 326. 327. 328. 329. 330. 331. 332. 333. 334. 335. 336. 337. 338. 339. 340. 341. 342. 343. 344. 345. 346. 347. 348. 349. 350. 351. 352. 353. 354. 355. 356. 357. 358. 359. 360. 361. 362. 363. 364. 365. 366. 367. 368. 369. 370. 371. 372. 373. 374. 375. 376. 377. 378. 379. 380. 381. 382. 383. 384. 385. 386. 387. 388. 389. 390. 391. 392. 393. 394. 395. 396. 397. 398. 399. 400. 401. 402. 403. 404. 405. 406. 407. 408. 409. 410. 411. 412. 413. 414. 415. 416. 417. 418. 419. 420. 421. 422. 423. 424. 425. 426. 427. 428. 429. 430. 431. 432. 433. 434. 435. 436. 437. 438. 439. 440. 441. 442. 443. 444. 445. 446. 447. 448. 449. 450. 451. 452. 453. 454. 455. 456. 457. 458. 459. 460. 461. 462. 463. 464. 465. 466. 467. 468. 469. 470. 471. 472. 473. 474. 475. 476. 477. 478. 479. 480. 481. 482. 483. 484. 485. 486. 487. 488. 489. 490. 491. 492. 493. 494. 495. 496. 497. 498. 499. 500. 501. 502. 503. 504. 505. 506. 507. 508. 509. 510. 511. 512. 513. 514. 515. 516. 517. 518. 519. 520. 521. 522. 523. 524. 525. 526. 527. 528. 529. 530. 531. 532. 533. 534. 535. 536. 537. 538. 539. 540. 541. 542. 543. 544. 545. 546. 547. 548. 549. 550. 551. 552. 553. 554. 555. 556. 557. 558. 559. 560. 561. 562. 563. 564. 565. 566. 567. 568. 569. 570. 571. 572. 573. 574. 575. 576. 577. 578. 579. 580. 581. 582. 583. 584. 585. 586. 587. 588. 589. 590. 591. 592. 593. 594. 595. 596. 597. 598. 599. 600. 601. 602. 603. 604. 605. 606. 607. 608. 609. 610. 611. 612. 613. 614. 615. 616. 617. 618. 619. 620. 621. 622. 623. 624. 625. 626. 627. 628. 629. 630. 631. 632. 633. 634. 635. 636. 637. 638. 639. 640. 641. 642. 643. 644. 645. 646. 647. 648. 649. 650. 651. 652. 653. 654. 655. 656. 657. 658. 659. 660. 661. 662. 663. 664. 665. 666. 667. 668. 669. 670. 671. 672. 673. 674. 675. 676. 677. 678. 679. 680. 681. 682. 683. 684. 685. 686. 687. 688. 689. 690. 691. 692. 693. 694. 695. 696. 697. 698. 699. 700. 701. 702. 703. 704. 705. 706. 707. 708. 709. 710. 711. 712. 713. 714. 715. 716. 717. 718. 719. 720. 721. 722. 723. 724. 725. 726. 727. 728. 729. 730. 731. 732. 733. 734. 735. 736. 737. 738. 739. 740. 741. 742. 743. 744. 745. 746. 747. 748. 749. 750. 751. 752. 753. 754. 755. 756. 757. 758. 759. 760. 761. 762. 763. 764. 765. 766. 767. 768. 769. 770. 771. 772. 773. 774. 775. 776. 777. 778. 779. 780. 781. 782. 783. 784. 785. 786. 787. 788. 789. 790. 791. 792. 793. 794. 795. 796. 797. 798. 799. 800. 801. 802. 803. 804. 805. 806. 807. 808. 809. 810. 811. 812. 813. 814. 815. 816. 817. 818. 819. 820. 821. 822. 823. 824. 825. 826. 827. 828. 829. 830. 831. 832. 833. 834. 835. 836

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- 4 kāsū 120 [\*]nūrr-irupadu kāsūn(m) muda[l] ke[dā]m[ai]y poli[y-ū]tṭināl nisadi  
nā . . . . .<sup>1</sup>
- 5 aḷappōm-āyinōm ippaḍi oṭṭi i-kkāsū koṇḍō[m] Iḍaiyārru-nāṭṭu Iḷamperuṅkāy-  
iruk[k]ai [sabhaiyō]-
- 6 m [\*] i-nṇey nisadi iru-nāḷiyum muṭṭil muṭṭ-irattiyum mūlap[pa]ṭṭa pan-  
māhēśvararē sabhaiy-āgavum tanitt-āgavum ni . . . . .<sup>2</sup>
- 7 Iṭṭa tāṇ vēṇḍu kōviṇṇukku pukka 37<sup>3</sup> aṇṇūru kāṇam daṇḍam-iḍa oṭṭi-  
kkuḍuttōm Tiruttavatturai-Mahādēvarkku [.\*]

## TRANSLATION.

Hail! Prosperity! In the 9th year opposite to the 4th year of (the reign of) king Māraṇjaḍaiyaṇ corresponding to the day of Śadaiyam, i.e., Satabhishaj (falling) on a Tuesday in the month of Dhanu, king Māraṇjaḍaiyaṇ alias Pāṇḍyakulapati Varaguna-Mahārāya gave into the hands of Aṇḍa-nāṭṭu-Vēḷāṇ 120 old kāsū for burning day and night, till the sun and the moon last, two perpetual lamps in the temple of the Mahādēva at Tiruttavatturai in Iḍaiyārru-nāḍu. As interest on these one hundred and twenty kāsū—the capital remaining un-affected—we bound ourselves to measure out daily [two nāḷi of ghee by the nārāya-nāḷi measure]. Thus agreeing, we, (the members of) the assembly of Iḷamperuṅkāy-irukkai in Iḍaiyārru-nāḍu, received these kāsū. If (any) default occurs in (giving) these two nāḷi of ghee daily, we agreed on behalf of the Mahādēva of Tiruttavatturai to pay, either in a body or individually, double the (quantity of) default and a fine of five hundred kāṇam (of gold) to the royal (officers) inclusive of [nilaikkaḷam] as the Māhēśvaras attached to the central shrine desire.

## TEXT OF C.

- 1 Svasti śrī [.\*] Kō-Rājakōsaripanma[r\*]kku yāṇḍu 13-āvaḍu Iḍaiyārru-  
nāṭṭu-tTiruttavatturai I.
- 2 śvara-baṭṭāra[ka]rkkku Śōlapperumāṇ-aḍigaḷ tiru-uḍappiraṇḍār Naṅgai-  
Varaguna-perumāṇār śandir-ā-
- 3 dittavaṇ iravum pagalum cru noṇḍā-viḷakku nisadi uriy ne[y]yāl<sup>4</sup> erivadaṇk-  
ku kuḍutta po[n]
- 4 30 muppadiṇ kaḷāṇju poṇṇum Vaḍakarai-Maḷa-nāṭṭu Kalāra-kku(kū)ṛrattu  
mēl-kūṛru pirama-
- 5 dēyam Maṇpalkāl sabhaiyōm koṇḍu i-ppon 30 kaḷāṇjuṇ-koṇḍu Tirut[ta]-  
vatturai Perumāṇ-aḍigaḷukku tiruviḷakkiṇṇukku viṛru-kkuḍutta nilammāvaḍu<sup>5</sup> Mē[r]-  
7 ppulattu Maṇmutṭi-ttiḍalin-kiḷai eṇgaḷ nāṅgu-mā-kkāṇiyum pōyum viṛkkiṇ[ra]  
8 nilattukku ellai Śirugavūr vēṭṭappērrin vaḍavāy mūṇru mā-kkāṇiyum pō-  
[yu]-
- 9 m viṛkkiṇra nilattukku ellai Śirugavūr ellai va[y\*]kkāḷin-kkiḷai<sup>6</sup> iraṇḍu-  
māvum
- 10 pōyum viṛkkiṇra nilattukk-ellai nāṅgaḷē Talaivāyaṇukku kuḍutta ve-  
11 ṭṭa[p]pērrin-kiḷai arai-māvum āga-ttaḍi nāṅgiṇāl nilam araiyum u-  
12 ṇṇilam oḷiviṇṇi i-ppon 30 [ka\*]ḷāṇjuṇ-koṇḍu i-ūḷam pattu-chcheyum iraiy-  
iliyāga viṛru vilaiy-āvaṇaṇ-cheyidu<sup>7</sup> śo-

<sup>1</sup> This gap may be filled up with the words "rāya nāḷiyāl iru-nāḷi ney".

<sup>2</sup> The letters laikkaḷam-u are damaged.

<sup>3</sup> See note 2 on p. 52.

<sup>4</sup> The first y in neyyāl is corrected from yi.

<sup>5</sup> Read nilammāvaḍu.

<sup>6</sup> Read °kṛṇai.

<sup>7</sup> Read °cheydu.



- 13 nnīr vet̤i utpaḍa maṛṛum eppērppaṭṭa vet̤iyum iraiyum echchōṛum vedi-  
naiyum eppērppaṭṭadum-irāḍadāga viṛṛu vi-  
14 laiy-āvaṇaṇ-che[y\*]du kuḍuttōm Tiruttavattuṛai-Mahādēvarkku Maṇaṛkāḷ sabhai-  
yōm i-ñilattukku pugunda  
15 kuttukkāl tirttu-kuḍuppōmānōm tirttu-[kkuḍōmāgil ku]ttukkāl pugunda(pugunda)-  
pōḍu muṛpaṭṭa panm[ā]-  
16 hēsvararē nilaikkaḷam-uḷḷiṭṭa tān [vēṇḍu] kō[viṇu]kku . . . . =kkāṇam  
sabhaiyaiy-āgavum tanitt-āgavum daṇ-  
17 ḍam-iḍa oṭṭi i-ñilam pattu=chcheyum viṛṛu vilaiy-āvaṇam śeydu kuḍuttōm  
Tiruttavattuṛai-[Ma]hādēvarkku Maṇa-  
18 ṛkkāl sabhaiyōm [||\*] idu pan-Māhēsvarar nārppatt-eṇṇāyiravarum rakshai ||| ||| |||

## TRANSLATION.

Hail ! Prosperity ! In the 13th year of (the reign of) king Rājakōsarivarman, Naṅgai-Varaṇa-perumāṇār, the illustrious uterine sister of the Chōḷa king (*Sōḷapperumāṇaḍigal*), gave 30 (*kaḷaṇḷu* of) gold for burning a perpetual lamp daily with (one) *uri* of ghee as long as the sun and the moon last, in the temple of *Iśvara-bhaṭṭāraka* at Tiruttavattuṛai. The (members of the) assembly of *Maṇaṛkāḷ*, a *brahmāḍeya* on the western portion of *Kalāra-kku(kū)ṛṛam* which was a sub-division of *Vaḍakarai-Maḷa-nāḍu* received these thirty *kaḷaṇḷu* of gold. The following are the lands which they sold for the 30 *kaḷaṇḷu* of gold to the temple of *Perumāṇaḍigal* at Tiruttavattuṛai for (burning) a sacred lamp :—

Four *mā* and (one) *kāṇi* of our land, situated to the east of the mound called *Maṇamuṭṭi-ttiḍal*; three *mā* and (one) *kāṇi* (of land) to the north of the *vet̤appēru* in *Śirugavūr*; two *mā* of land to the east of the canal at the boundary of *Śirugavūr*; and half a *mā* (of land) to the east of the *vet̤appēru* which we ourselves presented to *Talaivāyan*<sup>1</sup>—in all, half a *vēli* comprised in four *taḍi*. Having received the 30 *kaḷaṇḷu* of gold, we, (the members of) *Maṇaṛkāḷ*, sold these ten *śey* of land, free from taxes, and drew up the sale-deed expressing therein that all kinds of *vet̤i*, *irai*, *echchōru*, *vediṇai* and other (taxes) inclusive of *śennirvet̤i*, shall not be paid (on these lands), and conveyed the same to (the temple of) the *Mahādēva* at Tiruttavattuṛai. If there arises any trouble in respect of these lands, we bind ourselves to rectify the same. In case of our failure to rectify, we agree to pay, either as a body or individually, a fine of . . . . *kāṇam* of gold to the royal officers inclusive of the *nilaikkaḷam* . . . . . as may be desired by the several *Māhēsvaras* existing at the time of default. Thus (agreeing), we, (the members of) the assembly of *Maṇaṛkāḷ*, sold the said ten *śey* of land, drew up the sale-deed and handed over (possession) to (the temple of) the *Mahādēva* at Tiruttavattuṛai. This (charity) shall be under the protection of all the *Māhēsvaras* (viz.) the Forty-Eight Thousand.

## No. 4.—A SUNGA INSCRIPTION FROM AYODHYA.

BY RAI BARADUR DAYA RAM SAHNI, M.A.

This inscription was first brought to the notice of scholars by Babu Jagannath Das Ratnakara of Ayōdhyā. It is inscribed on a flat stone slab at the foot of the eastern entrance of the *Samādhi* of Bābā Sangat Bakhsh, which is reputed to have been built in the time of Nawāb Shujā-ud-daula. This shrine with the connected buildings is situated in the western portion of a large walled enclosure known as Rānōpālī, about a mile distant from the town of Ayōdhyā on the road leading to Fyzābād.

<sup>1</sup> May also mean 'for the head-slucce'.

The inscription consists of two lines. The first line appears to be complete, though it is difficult to say that the portion of the slab hidden under the sill of the doorframe does not contain one or more lines. Of the second line, the left hand portion is completely effaced, though some slight traces that have survived make it certain that the whole of this portion was originally inscribed. The characters are Brāhmī which show considerable resemblance with the inscriptions of the Northern Kshatrapas and some archaic votive inscriptions from Mathurā. The characteristics of this type are discussed in Bühler's *Indian Palaeography*<sup>1</sup> and these are the equalization of all the upper verticals except in *la*, the constant use of the *serif* and of the angular forms of *gha*, *ja*, *pa*, *pha*, *ma*, *la*, *sha* and *ha*. Another peculiarity of the Brāhmī script of this period is the slightly bent base line of the letter *na*. The inscription under discussion exhibits all these peculiarities in a marked degree and should be classed with those mentioned above. The document is written in correct Sanskrit and is thus one of the few early inscriptions recorded in that language. The only grammatical mistake noticed in it is the use of *Dharmarājñā* in place of *Dharmarājēna*.

The document has already been dealt with by several scholars, the first of whom was the discoverer, Babu Jagannath Das Ratnākara<sup>2</sup> himself. This article is written in Hindi and is accompanied by an inked impression of the inscription together with an improved hand-copy prepared by Mr. Ratnakara himself. Mahāmahōpādhyāya Pandit Gaurishankar Hirachand Ojha of the Rājputāna Museum, Ajmēr, dealt with the document in the same volume of the *Nāgarī-Prachārīnī Patrikā*,<sup>3</sup> as well as in his report of that Museum for the year ending 31st March 1924, pp. 1-2. Mr. K. P. Jayaswal has devoted three articles to the subject.<sup>4</sup> Other scholars, who have dealt with this inscription, are Mr. N. K. Bhattasali,<sup>5</sup> Dr. A. Bannerji-Śāstri<sup>6</sup> and Mr. N. G. Majumdar.<sup>7</sup> The inscription has, however, not yet been dealt with in any of the official publications of the Archaeological Department and my object in editing it in this journal is to bring together the various views expressed by scholars on this important inscription and to record my own impressions of the same.

The inscription records the erection of a shrine or other memorial in honour of Phalgudēva, the father of the Dharmarāja . . . . Dhana (°dēva, °bhūti, etc.), Lord of Kōsala, son of Kauśikī, the sixth of the *Sēnāpati* Pushyamitra, who had performed the *Āsvamēdha* twice.

The inscription is important for more reasons than one. It is the first inscription on stone or metal yet discovered which mentions the name of Pushyamitra, the celebrated founder of the Śunga dynasty. Hitherto he was only known from literary sources, e.g., the *Divyāvadāna* (XXIX), Patañjali's *Mahābhāṣya* (III-2-123), where reference is made to a sacrifice performed by him, some of the *Purāṇas*, Kālidāsa's drama, the *Mālavikāgnimitra*, etc. The passages referring to the Śunga dynasty in the *Vishṇu* and the *Bhāgavata Purāṇas* are quoted in parallel columns in Pargiter's *The Purāṇa Text of the Dynasties of the Kali Age*, pp. 30-33. From the extract from the former we learn that the dynasty was founded by the General Pushyamitra after he had slain the last Maurya king Bṛhadratha. His son was Agnimitra, who was succeeded by Vasujyēṣṭha. The latter's son was Vasumitra and his son Andhraka. He was succeeded by Pulindaka and the

<sup>1</sup> *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XXXIII, 1904, Appendix, p. 40.

<sup>2</sup> *Nāgarī-Prachārīnī-Patrikā*, Vol. V, pt. 1, pp. 99-104.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 201, *seq.*

<sup>4</sup> *Modern Review*, October 1924, pp. 430-32, *J. B. & O. R. S.*, 1924, Vol. X, pp. 202-208, and *ibid.*, Vol. XIII, pp. 247-49. [Here Mr. Jayaswal has given good facsimiles of this inscription.—Ed.]

<sup>5</sup> *Modern Review*, February 1925, p. 202.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, January 1925, pp. 59-60.

<sup>7</sup> *Annals of the Bhandarkar Institute*, Vol. VII, pts. I and II, pp. 160-163.



latter by Yōmēgha. He was followed by Vajramitra. He was followed by Samābhāga. The latter's son was Dēvabhūmi.

Kālidāsa's drama mentions three of these kings, *i.e.*, the founder, his son Agnimitra and the latter's son Vasumitra and further informs us that Pushyamitra instituted a *Rājasūya* sacrifice and appointed Vasumitra as the guardian of the sacrificial horse, which in accordance with religious custom was to wander at will for a year and that the horse was seized by the cavalry of the Yavanas, whom Vasumitra successfully defeated and brought the horse back to his grandfather's sacrifice. The *Rājasūya* sacrifice was performed by universal monarchs and the sacrifice of this name mentioned in the drama of Kālidāsa may have been the one performed by Pushyamitra on the occasion of his coronation. The Ayōdhya inscription, however, records the performance of two *Āśvamedha* sacrifices by Pushyamitra. It is at present not known what necessitated the institution of the second sacrifice by him. It is to the credit of Pushyamitra that he revived this sacrifice which had long been in abeyance owing to Aśoka's commandments prohibiting the immolation of animals even for sacrifices. Mr. Jayaswal<sup>1</sup> thinks that the *Āśvamedha* sacrifice mentioned in an inscription discovered at Nagari also referred to Pushyamitra. It is true that such an inscription was found by Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar when he was engaged in his excavations at Nagari.<sup>2</sup> It has, however, been found by Rai Bahadur Gaurishankar H. Ojha<sup>3</sup> to be only a fragment of the Ghōsūṇḍī inscription and to supply the missing portion of the first line of that record. Thus restored, the epigraph shows that the son of Gajāyana and Pārāsari mentioned in it was one Sarvatāta, who had performed a horse-sacrifice, but makes no mention of Pushyamitra.

The Ayōdhya inscription is also interesting as it establishes the fact that the correct name of the founder of the Śuṅga dynasty was Pushyamitra, not Pushpamitra as found in some of the Sanskrit works. Dr. Bühler had already been led to this conclusion<sup>4</sup> by the form Pūsamitta which he found in certain Jaina Prakrit *gāthās*, but epigraphical evidence was wanting.

The interpretation of this short record is rendered difficult by the uncertainty about the exact significance of the words *Pushyamitrasya shashthēna* and I am afraid the difficulty will not be solved until another inscription of the Śuṅga dynasty containing the genealogy of these kings comes to light. I propose here to recapitulate what has been said by the previous writers before I record my views on the point. Pandit Ratnakara rendered these words as the sixth descendant, brother or son of Pushyamitra and as with the last alternative, Phalgudēva would become identical with Pushyamitra, he thought he could overcome the difficulty by supplying a word like *pūjyasya* between the words *pituh* and *Phalgudēvasya* and interpret the expression as "in honour of Phalgudēva, a teacher or deity of his father." Rai Bahadur Gaurishankar Hirachand Ojha favoured the meaning "sixth in descent from Pushyamitra," while Mr. Jayaswal preferred to interpret the expression as the sixth brother of Pushyamitra, making Phalgudēva the father of Pushyamitra. This view was endorsed by Dr. A. Banerji-Sāstri, who rejected "the descent theory" for the reason that if Dhana[dēva] was sixth in descent from Pushyamitra and evidently proud of it, his name would have ended with the word *mītra*. This, as Mr. N. K. Bhattasali<sup>5</sup> has shown, is no real obstacle as the names of several of the kings of the Śuṅga dynasty as given in the *Purāṇas* and found on their coins have different endings. Dr. Sāstri also emphasises the fact that in the *Smṛitis* 'descent' is signified by the termination of the 5th case, not the 6th as

<sup>1</sup> *Modern Review*, October 1924, p. 432.

<sup>2</sup> *The Archaeological Remains and Excavations at Nagari* (Memoirs of the Arch. Surv. Ind. No. 4) p. 120.

<sup>3</sup> *Annual Report, Archaeological Survey of India*, 1926-27, p. 204.

<sup>4</sup> *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. II, p. 362.

<sup>5</sup> *Modern Review*, January to June 1925, p. 202.

is the case in the expression under discussion. Mr. N. G. Majumdar has hunted up a parallel expression in verse 88 of the 16th *Sarga* of the *Raghuvamśa*. The expression in question is *pañchamañ Takshakasya*, which is interpreted by three commentators as meaning "grandson of grandson of Takshaka." Mr. Majumdar therefore sees no difficulty in interpreting *Pushyamitrasya shashthah* as "sixth in descent from Pushyamitra." In his third article<sup>1</sup> on this inscription, however, Mr. Jayaswal points out that the example from the *Raghuvamśa* referred to above is actually interpreted by Mallinātha as meaning the fifth son of Takshaka. 'The sixth of Pushyamitra' in the Ayōdhyā inscription should therefore mean the sixth son of Pushyamitra. As, however, this interpretation would make Phalgudēva identical with Pushyamitra, he proposes to read *Dharmarājñā* in the 2nd line as *Dharmarājñī*, and to compound it with the following word *pituḥ*. He thus construes the record as meaning that Dhanadēva, the sixth son of Pushyamitra, erected a house in honour of Phalgudēva, the father of his lawful queen.

It will be seen from the above that the only parallel expression found by the ingenuity of Mr. Majumdar is capable of two divergent interpretations. As has been pointed out by Dr. Banerji-Sāstri, the inscriptions so far known fail to throw light on the question and he is right in stating that the established custom in epigraphical records is either to name the generations in succession or not at all and that it is not usual to mention a distant stage by omitting the intervening ones. One such example I have indeed secured in verse 44 of the *Vamśāvalī* of the Chambā rājās,<sup>2</sup> where we find the words "Mēruvarman was the 10th from Jayastambha" after the nine intervening ancestors of Mēruvarman have been duly referred to in direct succession. Even here, however, the *vibhakti* employed is the fifth, not the sixth or possessive case. An example of this kind with the sixth case ending occurs in the *Raghuvamśa*, *Sarga* 6, verse 29 :—

त्वमेव कल्याणि तयोस्तृतीया

"Thou alone, fortunate lady, art fit to be their third."

Sunandā, the attendant of Indumatī, while narrating the achievements of the prince of the Aṅgas observes that the goddesses Śrī and Sarasvatī, though naturally hostile to each other, together reside in him in peace, thus indicating the propriety of her union with him. It will be observed that though the grammatical construction in this case is the same as in the doubtful expression being discussed, the sense of descent is out of the question. Whether more exact parallels both in form and sense will or will not be found in the vast field of Sanskrit literature, I am unable to say. It seems, however, exceedingly difficult to disregard clear palaeographic evidence and to group this record with the other known documents of the early Śunga period. I would, therefore, with Pandit Ratnakara, supply a word like *purushēna* after *shashthēna* and translate "by the sixth descendant of Pushyamitra". It will be seen from the facsimile that only the first portion of the name of the chief who had this inscription engraved is preserved. Previous writers have restored it as Dhanadēva and Mr. N. G. Majumdar identifies him with a chief of that name whose coins have been found round about Ayōdhyā. Be the name, however, what it may, the inscription has established beyond doubt the fact that Ayōdhyā formed part of the Śunga Empire as late as the date of the inscription, which, on palaeographic grounds must be assigned to about the 1st century A.D.

#### TEXT.

Line 1. *Kōsal-ādhipēna dvir-aśvamēdha-yājīnaḥ sēnāpatēḥ Pushyamitrasya śnashthēna*  
*Kauśiki-putrēna Dhana . . . . .*  
 Line 2. *Dharmarājñā pituḥ Phalgudēvasya kētanam kārtaṁ*

<sup>1</sup> *J. B. & O. R. S.*, Vol. XIII, pp. 247-49.

<sup>2</sup> Vogel, *Antiquities of Chamba State*, p. 85 :—

महवर्मा जयसम्भादशमोऽमृत.

[The chief point of interest in the inscription is the use of the genitive case in the expression *Pushyamītrasya shashthēna*. According to Pāṇini (तस्य पूरणे षट्, नाम्नादसंख्यादेर्मट् and षट्कृतिकतिपयचतुरां युक्, *Ashṭādhyāyī*, V. ii. 48, 49 and 51), the suffix *ṣaṭ* (with the augments *maṭ* and *thuk*) is used in the sense of *pūraṇa*, i.e., येन संख्या संख्यानं पूर्यते संपद्यते स तस्याः पूरणः (*Kāśikā* on the *Ashṭādhyāyī*, V. ii. 48), 'that with which a number is completed'. So षष्ठः means षष्ठां पूरणः and पञ्चमः, पञ्चमां पूरणः, and so on. In other words, this suffix does not signify any order of descent or kinship and षष्ठेन of the inscription, taken by itself, would simply mean 'by the sixth.' The genitive case, however, would show the *sambandha* or relationship which this person had with Pushyamitra, for that is one of the chief functions of this *vibhakti*. To express 'order of descent' the ablative case should be employed, as a reference to the comments on अन्धारादितरते दिक्शब्दाश्चत्तरपदाजाहियुक्ते (*Ashṭādhyāyī*, II. iii. 29) would show. We generally say अयमस्मात् पूर्वः, अयमस्मादुत्तरः. This will be made clearer by the following quotation given in the *Śabdakalpādruma* under the word *sapinda* :—

“ पञ्चमात् सप्तमादूर्ध्वं मादृतः पितृतः क्रमात् ।

सपिण्डता निवर्त्तत सर्ववर्णेष्वयं विधिः ॥ ” इत्युदाहृतचतुर्नारदवचनम् ॥

That *pañchamī* and not *shashthī* is generally used in such cases is further shown by the *Vaiṣṇu-Purāṇa* (*Amśa* III, *Adhyāya* X) and the *Garuḍa-Purāṇa* (*Adhyāya* LXV) as quoted in the *Śabdakalpādruma* under the word *vivāha*.

“ पञ्चमीं मातृपञ्चाच्च पितृपञ्चाच्च सप्तमीं ” and

“ पञ्चमात् सप्तमादूर्ध्वं मादृतः पितृतस्तथा ”

The *Yājñavalkya-Smṛiti*, *Āchār-ādhyāya*, (Trivandrum Sanskrit Series) would also support the said statement for it says :—

अरोनिषीं भ्रातृमतींसमानर्विगोत्रजाम् ।

पञ्चमीं सप्तमीं चैव मादृतः पितृतस्तथा ॥ ५३॥

Therefore, if it was the order of descent which the author of the inscription had in view, he would have said *puṣyamītrāt* and not *puṣyamitray*. Consequently, it becomes evident that if any word is to be supplied, it should be *पुत्रेण* and not *पुत्रेण*. In consideration of these points, Mallinātha seems to be quite correct in taking *पञ्चमं तत्तकस्य* (*Raghu.*, XVI, 88) in the sense of 'the fifth son of Takahaka.' To get the meaning attributed to this passage by Chāritravardhana or by Dīnākarānāṣa, we should expect the ablative case or the form *तत्तकात्* instead. We say *तस्य* but not *तस्मात्* पुत्रः, पौत्रः, प्रपौत्रो वा. Here, we should remember that the *Vāyu-Purāṇa* gives the reading *Pushyamītra-sūtās=ch=āshṭau* which strongly supports the interpretation of *षष्ठेन* as 'by the sixth son'. Besides, there is no inherent impossibility in the version given in this *Purāṇa* which would necessitate a summary rejection of it. Nor does it imply a sense which is wrong or impossible. Accordingly, the meaning 'by the sixth son of Pushyamitra' seems to be preferable.

As to the two new references given in this article one (त्वमेव कल्याणि तयोस्तृतीया) has no bearing whatsoever on the point under consideration. The other, which is a quotation from the *Vamśāvalī* of the rulers of Chambā, would only support the *prati-pakṣa* or the opposite view in that it uses *pañchamī* and not *shashthī* to express the order of descent of Mēruvarman.—Ed.]

## No. 5.—PAHARPUR COPPER-PLATE GRANT OF THE [GUPTA] YEAR 159.

By K. N. DIKSHIT, M.A., CALCUTTA.

This **copper-plate** was found by me during the excavation of the great temple at **Pāhār-pur** in the Badalgachi Thana of the Rājshāhi District in Bengal on the 29th November, 1927. It was recovered from the debris that had accumulated on the north-east side of the circumambulatory passage on the second terrace. From the circumstances of the discovery it was apparent that it could not have been originally buried or deposited under the floor of the passage, but was probably brought down from a higher level along with the bricks and mud. It is to be regretted that owing to the inadvertence of the labourer a hole has been made in the upper right hand corner of it and some letters in the three lines at the end of the first side and the first few lines of the second side have become obscure. The left hand margin has also been damaged at places, owing to which circumstance some of the letters written there have disappeared. The plate when dug out was covered with a thick coating of rust and verdigris but has subsequently been cleaned by chemical treatment and proves to have been fairly well preserved. It is rectangular<sup>1</sup> in shape, measures  $7\frac{1}{4} \times 4\frac{1}{2}$ " and weighs 29 *tōlās*.

The **characters** in which the inscription under notice is written belong to the northern class of alphabets of the 5th century A.D. and closely resemble those of the grants 3 and 4 of the Dāmōdarpur<sup>2</sup> copper-plates of the time of Budhagupta. The formation of the medial *ā* by the addition of a stroke at the right lower end of the letters *ga*, *na*, *dha*, *ba*, *ra* and *śa* may be noted. The terminal *m* is written slightly below the top line as will be seen in *-ādhikaraṇam* (l. 1), *°chatushtayam* (l. 8), *Sam* (l. 20), and *phalam* (l. 24). The rare letter *ḍha* occurs in *āḍhavāpa* (l. 15). The forms of the conjunct letters *ksha* (as in *Dakṣiṇā*<sup>3</sup> l. 1), *hma* (as in *Brāhma*<sup>4</sup> ll. 3, 12 and 17) and *ñchchhya* (as in *apaviñchchhya* l. 20) are noteworthy. The numerical signs for 100, 50, 9, 7, 4 and 1 are to be found in ll. 19 to 21. The unusual form of 9 in l. 20, seems to be the prototype of the modern Bengali sign for that digit.

As regards **orthography**, the doubling of *k* before *ya* in *°dinārikkyā*<sup>5</sup> (ll. 4 and 11), and before *r* in *°vikṛayō*<sup>6</sup> (ll. 5 and 12), and *°kkramēṇ=ā*<sup>7</sup> (ll. 5 and 17) requires notice. The consonants *k*, *n*, *d*, *m* and *y* are doubled after *r*, as in *°ārkkā*<sup>8</sup> (l. 20), *°anuvārṇṇy=ā*<sup>9</sup> (l. 3), *°nirddishṭr*<sup>10</sup> (l. 18), *°sarmnā* (ll. 4 and 12), *°sarmmata* (l. 17), *°āryyā*<sup>11</sup> (l. 1), *°bhāryyā*<sup>12</sup> (ll. 4, 12 and 17), *°āchāryyā*<sup>13</sup> (ll. 6 and 13) and in *dharmma*<sup>14</sup> and *°dharmmēṇa* in lines 16 and 19. The *v* symbol is used for *b* in *°samudcya-vāhy-ā*<sup>15</sup> (ll. 4 and 11) and *°vrahubhir*<sup>16</sup> (l. 23).

The **language** of the inscription is Sanskrit. With the exception of the five imprecatory verses at the end, the whole record is in prose. The rules of *sandhi* have been very often violated, specially in respect of a *visarga* at the end of a word, as in *°āyuktakaḥ āryyā*<sup>17</sup> (l. 1), *°Gōhālūaḥ arddha*<sup>18</sup> (l. 9), *°vīrōdhaḥ guṇas*<sup>19</sup> (l. 16), *kulyavāpa adhyarddhō*<sup>20</sup> (l. 19). *°Nātha-sarmmā etad*<sup>21</sup> in ll. 4 and 12 is also wrong grammatically.

The document under examination registers the purchase of a fallow state land by a private individual for charitable purposes. The Dhānāidaha,<sup>22</sup> the Dāmōdarpur,<sup>23</sup> the Farid.

<sup>1</sup> The left hand margin presents a broken appearance in the central portion. It is probable that, as in No. 3 of the Dāmōdarpur plates, there was a semi-circular projection at this place for attaching the seal.

<sup>2</sup> Above, Vol. XV, pp. 116 ff.

<sup>3</sup> [See f.n. 5 on p. 61 below.—Ed.]

<sup>4</sup> Above, Vol. XVII, pp. 345 ff.

<sup>5</sup> Above, Vol. XV, pp. 113 ff.

pur<sup>1</sup> and the Ghugrāhāti<sup>2</sup> copper-plates also record similar transactions, the difference being that in the present case the rate at which one *kulyavāpa* of land was sold was 2 *dināras* whereas it was 3 in the case of the Dāmōdarpur grants and 4 in the case of the Faridpur ones. As Nos. 3 and 4 of the Dāmōdarpur plates are almost co-eval with the present plate, the difference in the rates mentioned in the two cases must be due to local causes. Probably the quality of the land available was inferior or there was an abundance of fallow land in the locality around Pāhārpur. It was, apparently, owing to such considerations that the 5 *drōṇavāpas* (=  $\frac{5}{2}$  of a *kulyavāpa* approximately) were, as stated in No. 2 of the Dāmōdarpur plates, granted in lieu of a deposit of 2 *dināras*, when the rate was 3 *dināras* to a *kulyavāpa*<sup>3</sup>.

The grant under notice records that a Brāhmaṇa and his wife deposited 3 *dināras* or gold coins with the city council (*adhishṭhān-ādīkaraṇa*) to secure 1 *kulyavāpa* and 4 *drōṇavāpas* of land situated at 4 different villages all lying in the Dakṣiṇāmāsaka-*vīṭhī* and Nāgiraṭṭa-*maṇḍala* for the maintenance of worship with sandal, incense, flowers, lamps, etc., of the divine arhats at the *viḥāra* of Vaṭa-Gōhālī which was presided over by the disciples and the disciples of disciples of the Nigrantha preceptor (*Śramaṇ-ācārya*) Guhanandin, belonging to the Pāñcha-stūpa section (*nikāya*) of Benares. The donation of a Brāhmaṇa couple for the worship of Jinās, as recorded here, is noteworthy for it bespeaks of the religious toleration of the people of the period.

The Jaina *viḥāra* at Vaṭa-Gōhālī mentioned in this inscription, it would appear, must have stood at the original site of the present temple at Pāhārpur. The boundaries of the site are partly situated within the limits of the village of Gōālbbhiṭā to the north-west and the mound where the temple has been unearthed was pointed out to Dr. Buchanan Hamilton in 1807 as 'Gōālbbhiṭār Pāhār' (the eminence of Gōālbbhiṭā). The identification of Gōālbbhiṭā with the ancient Vaṭa-Gōhālī easily suggests itself as the stem Gōhālī is substantially identical with Gōāl. Few relics of the Jaina faith<sup>4</sup> have come to light during the excavations at Pāhārpur, but numerous Brahmanical and Buddhist bas-reliefs and terra-cotta plaques, dating from the late Gupta times, have been discovered. In the ninth and the succeeding centuries of the Christian era, the Pāhārpur temple was known as the great Buddhist *viḥāra* of king Dharmapāla at Sōmapura, the latter place being recognised in the modern village of Ōmpur, a mile to the south of the mound.

Regarding the prevalence of Jainism in Bengal, the Chinese traveller Hiuen Tsiang, who visited the country of Puṇḍravardhana in the second quarter of the seventh century, records that<sup>5</sup> "there are some 100 Dēva temples, where sectaries of different schools congregate. The naked Nirgranthas are the most numerous." This statement can now be corroborated by the evidence of the present document which speaks of a *viḥāra* presided over by a succession of Nigrantha monks, at least 150 years previous to the Chinese pilgrim's visit to the locality. In connection with the name Guhanandin it is worthy of note that the names of the Dīgambara Ācāryas of the third and fourth centuries of the Christian era, such as Yaśōnandin, Jayanandin, Kumāranandin, etc., as is shown by the lists, generally end in *nandin*. Puṇḍravardhana is mentioned as one of the seats of Jaina pontiffs, beginning with Gupti-Gupta or Vśākh-ācāryya, the disciple of Bhadrabāhu II and Guhanandin must have been one of them.

<sup>1</sup> *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XXXIX, p. 193 and *J.A.S.B.*, N.S., Vol. VII, p. 475.

<sup>2</sup> Above, Vol. XVIII, p. 74.

<sup>3</sup> [If the rate was 3 *dināras* to a *kulyavāpa*, the price of 5 *drōṇavāpas*, i.e.,  $\frac{5}{2}$  of a *kulyavāpa* must be 2 *dināras*.—Ed.]

<sup>4</sup> [Does this fact support the author's view regarding the situation of the Jaina *viḥāra* at the site or suggest that the document under notice was brought from outside? Cf. his remark about the find in para. I, p. 59, above.—Ed.]

<sup>5</sup> *Bal, Buddhist Records of the Western World*, Vol. II, p. 195.

The procedure followed in ancient Bengal<sup>1</sup> in respect of applications for the purchase and donation of land, as elaborated in the present case, is interesting. The intending donors approached the District Officer (*Ayuktaka*<sup>2</sup>) and the City Council (*Adhishṭhān-ādhipikarāṇa*) headed by the venerable Mayor (*Nagara-śrēṣṭhin*) and requested them for sale of land for charitable purposes at the prescribed rate. The Officer and the Council referred the case, in the first instance, to the committee of record-keepers consisting of one chief record-keeper and at least five other record-keepers.<sup>3</sup> The latter after making necessary enquiries submitted their report with recommendation in favour of the transaction. The authorities thereupon realised the necessary amount from the applicants and intimated the elders and other householders belonging to the villages concerned to measure out the land and make it over to the applicants for the purpose in view.

The land measure adopted in this grant was based on the measures of grain as is the case in the Dāmōdarpur and other grants. The *kulyavāpa* denoted as much land as could be sown with a *kulya* measure of grain. A *kulya*, according to various ancient authorities, was equivalent to 8 *drōṇas*=32 *āḍhakas*=128 *prasthas*. Other land measures found in the present record are *drōṇavāpa* and *āḍhavāpa*.

The date of the grant as given in the inscription is Sam 159 Māgha di 7 and, apparently, refers to the Gupta era, which was in use in Bengal when the charter was issued. As such, it would fall in January 479, A.D. The mention of *Paramabhaṭṭāraka* in l. 16 can only be taken to refer to the reigning sovereign whose name is not mentioned. The Dāmōdarpur plates show that the kingdom of Budhagupta included the *bhukti* of Puṇḍravardhana at this period and it is not improbable that the unspecified reigning sovereign at the time of the issue of the copper-plate was Budhagupta.

Regarding the identification of the places mentioned in the plate, Puṇḍravardhana has been identified by General Cunningham<sup>4</sup> with the extensive ruins known as 'Mahāsthān-gaṇh,' 8 miles north of the town of Bogra. Vata-Gōhālī, as stated above, may be the modern Gōālbiṭā. I am unable to identify the other localities.

#### TEXT.<sup>5</sup>

##### Obverse.

- 1 Svasti [||\*] Puṇḍra[varddha]nād=Āyuktakaḥ<sup>6</sup> Āryya-nagara-śrēṣṭhi-purōgañ=ch=ādhiṣṭhān-ādhipikaranam Dakṣiṇāmśaka-vithēya-Nāgiraṭṭa-
- 2 māṇḍalika-Palāsāṭṭa-pārsvika-Vaṭa-Gōhālī-Jambudēva-prāvēśya-Prishṭhima-pōttaka-Gōshā-ṭapuñjaka-Mūla-Nāgiraṭṭa-prāvēśya-
- 3 Nitva-Gōhālīshu Brāhmaṇ-ōttarān=Mahattar-ādi-kutumbinaḥ kuśalam-anuvarṇṇy-ānubōdhayanti [||\*] Vijñāpayaty=asmān=Brāhmaṇa-Nātha-

<sup>1</sup> [It would be safer to say 'in this part of ancient Bengal' till it is proved by documentary evidence that this procedure was followed in the whole of ancient Bengal.—Ed.]

<sup>2</sup> [The Faridpur and the Dāmōdarpur grants mention more than one but less than five record-keepers. Faridpur grant No. 1 mentions only one record-keeper. Will it not be better to say 'the Committee which consisted of one chief record-keeper and very often other subordinate record-keepers'?—Ed.]

<sup>3</sup> A. S. R., Vol. XV, pp. 104-117.

<sup>4</sup> From the original plate.

<sup>5</sup> [The plate correctly gives 'yuktakā āryya'. This reading would show that there were more *Ayuktakas* than two and that Nātha-śarmā and his wife Rāmī approached these *Ayuktakas* with their request for the land.—Ed.]

- 4 śarmmā ētaḍ-bhāryyā Rāmī cha yushmākam=ih-ādhishṭhān-ādhikaraṇē  
dvi-dinārikkya-kulyavāpēna śaśvat-kāl-ōpabbhōgy-ākshaya-nivī-samudaya-vāhy<sup>1</sup>-ā-
- 5 pratikara-khila-kshētra-vāstu-vikkrayō=nuvittas=tad-arhatī=ānēn=aiva kkramēṇ=āvayōs=  
sakāśād=dināra-trayam=upasaṅgrihy=āvayō[s\*]-sva-puṇy-āpyā-
- 6 yanāya Vaṭa-Gōhālyām=av<sup>2</sup>=āsyān=Kāśika<sup>3</sup>-pañcha-stūpa-nikāyika<sup>4</sup>-nigrantha-Śramaṇ-  
āchāryya-Guhanandi-śishya-praśishy-ādhishṭhita-vihārē
- 7 Bhagavatām=Arhatām gandha-dhūpa-sumanō-dīp-ādy-arthan=tala-vāṭaka-nimittān=cha  
a[ta\*] ēva Vaṭa-Gōhālītō vāstu-drōṇavāpam=adhyarddhañ=Ja-
- 8 mbudēva-prāvēśya-Prishṭhima-pōttakē<sup>5</sup> kshētraṁ drōṇavāpa-chatusṭayam Gōshā-  
ṭapuñjād=drōṇavāpa-chatusṭayam Mūla-Nāgiraṭṭa-
- 9 prāvēśyā-Nitva-Gōhālitaḥ arddha-trika-drōṇavāpān=ity=ēvam=adhyarddham kahētra-  
kulyavāpam<sup>6</sup>=akshaya-nivyā dātum=i[ty=atra] yataḥ prathama-
- 10 Pustapāla-Divākaranandi-Pustapāla-Dhṛitvivishṇu-Virōchana-Rāmadāsa-Haridāsa-Śaśinandi-  
shu prathamam<sup>7</sup> . . . . [nā]m=avadhāraṇa<sup>8</sup>
- 11 y=āvadhṛitam asty=asmad-adhishṭhān-ādhikaraṇē dvi-dinārikkya-kulyavāpēna śaśvat-  
kāl-ōpabbhōgy-ākshaya-nivī-samu[daya-vā]hy<sup>9</sup>-āpratikara-
- 12 [khila\*]-kshētra-vāstu-vikkrayō=nuvittas=tad-yad=yushmām<sup>10</sup>=Brāhmaṇa-Nātha-śarmmā  
ētaḍ-bhāryyā Rāmī cha Palāśāṭṭa-pārsvika-Vaṭa-Gōhālīstha<sup>11</sup>(?)-ya

## Reverse.

- 13 . . . . ka-pañcha-stūpa-kula-nikāyika-āchāryya-nigrantha-Guhanandi-śishya-  
praśishy-ādhishṭhita-sad-vihārē Arhatām<sup>12</sup> gandha-[dhūp]-ādy-upayōgāya
- 14 [tala-v\*]āṭaka-nimittān=cha tatr=aiva Vaṭa-Gōhālyām vāstu-drōṇavāpam=adhyar-  
ddham kshētrañ=Jambudēva-prāvēśya-Prishṭhima-pōttakē drōṇavāpa-chatusṭayam
- 15 Gōshāṭapuñjād=drōṇavāpa-chatusṭayam Mūla-Nāgiraṭṭa-prāvēśya-Nitva-Gōhālītō drō-  
ṇavāpa-dvayam=ādhavā[pa-dva]y-ādhikam=ity=ēvam=a-

<sup>1</sup> Read 'bāhy-ā'.<sup>2</sup> Read 'cū'.<sup>3</sup> [Cf. *Nāy-Avakāśikāyām* of the Faridpur grants 2 and 3. *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XXXIX, pp. 200 and 204.—Ed.]<sup>4</sup> This expression is further characterised as *pañcha-stūpa-kula-nikāyika* in l. 13 of the text. The word *pañcha-nikāyika* is familiar to the students of Buddhism in the sense of 'one who knows the five Nikāyas'. In the present case, however, the word *stūpa* or *stūpa-kula* occurring between *pañcha* and *nikāyika* and its connection with a Jaina preceptor would seem to show that *Nikāya* must be taken here in the sense of a branch (*sākhā*) of the Jaina Āchāryas. *Pañcha-stūpa* may, in that case, be a place name from which a particular branch of the Jaina Āchāryas may have been known.<sup>5</sup> † is redundant here.<sup>6</sup> The engraver first wrote *drōṇavāpam*, but finding his mistake later, appears to have made an attempt at correction. The erased letters *drōṇa* are clearly visible below *kulya*.<sup>7</sup> Some letters after this are lost.<sup>8</sup> [The text of the Dāmōdarour plates would suggest that *avadhāraṇayā* was preceded by the names of the record-keepers which were put in the genitive plural.—Ed.]<sup>9</sup> Read 'bāhu'.<sup>10</sup> Read 'yushmām'.<sup>11</sup> [Compare the reading in l. 6 above.—Ed.]<sup>12</sup> Read *Arhatām*.

FIRST SIDE.

2 4 6 8 10 12

Handwritten text in Devanagari script, likely a copper plate grant. The text is arranged in horizontal lines, with some lines starting with a vertical bar. The script is dense and appears to be a formal document. The lines are numbered 2, 4, 6, 8, 10, and 12 on the right side.

ACTUAL SIZE.

SURVEY OF INDIA, CALCUTTA.

HIRANANDA SASTRI.



SECOND SIDE.

14  
16  
18  
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22  
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- 16 dhyarddham kshētra-kulyavāpam=prārthayat<sup>1</sup>=tra na kaśchid=virōdhaḥ gunas-  
tu yat=parama-bhaṭṭāraka-pādānām=artth-ōpachayō dharinma-shaḍ-bhāg-āpyāya-
- 17 nañ=cha bhavati tad ēvañ-kriyatām=ity-anēn=āvadhāraṇā-kkramēṇ=āsmād-Brā-  
hmaṇa-Nātha-śarmmata ētad-bhāryyā-Rānīyās=cha dīnāra-tra-
- 18 yam-āyīkrity=aitābhyām vijñāpitaka-kram-ōpayōgāy=ōpari-nirddishṭa-grāma-Gōhālī-  
kēshu tala-vāṭaka-vāstunā saha kshētram
- 19 kulyavāpa adhyarddhō=kshaya-nīvī-dharmmēṇa dattaḥ ku 1 drō 4 [ \* ]  
Tad=yushmābhiḥ sva-karmmaṇ-āvirōdhi-sthānē shaṭka-naḥair<sup>1</sup>-apa-
- 20 viñchchya<sup>2</sup> dātavyō=kshaya-nīvī-dharmmēṇa cha śasvad=āchandr-ārka-tāraka-  
kālam=anu-pālayitavya iti [ \* ] Sam 100 50 9
- 21 Māgha di 7 [ \* ] Uktañ=cha bhagavatā Vyāsēna [ \* ] Sva-dattām para-  
dattām vā yō harēta vasundharām [ \* ]
- 22 sa vishṭhāyām krimir<sup>4</sup>=bhūtvā pitṛibhis-saha pachyatē [ \* ] Shashṭi-varsha-  
sahasrāṇi svarggē vasati bhūmidah [ \* ]
- 23 ākshēptā ch=ānumantā cha tāny=ēva narakē vasēt [ \* ] Rājabhir=vvahu-  
bhir<sup>5</sup>=dattā diyatē cha punaḥ punaḥ [ \* ] yasya yasya
- 24 yadā bhūmi<sup>6</sup> tasya tasya tadā phalam [ \* ] Pūrvva-dattām dvijātibhyō  
yatnād=raksha Yudhishṭhira [ \* ] mahīm=mahimatām<sup>7</sup> śrēshṭha
- 25 dānāch=chhrēyō nupālanaṁ [ \* ] Vindhy ātavīshv=anambunshu<sup>8</sup> śushka-kōṭara-  
vāsinaḥ [ \* ] kṛishn=ābinō<sup>9</sup> hi jāyantē dēva-dāyam haranti yē [ \* ]

#### Abstract of Contents.

Nātha-śarmma, a Brāhmaṇa and Rāmī, his wife, approach the District Officer<sup>10</sup> and the City-Council headed by the Mayor (*Nagara-Śrēshṭhī*) at Puṇḍravardhana with the request that in accordance with the procedure prevalent in the locality, they may be allowed to deposit three *dīnāras* in return for 1½ *kulyavāpas* of land distributed among 4 different villages to be endowed in perpetuity for the maintenance of requisites of the worship of Arhats such as sandal, incense, flower,<sup>11</sup> lamps, etc., and for the construction of a resting place at the *vikāra* of the Jaina preceptor Guhanandī at Vaṭa-Gōhālī. The details of the lands required were:—Fields measuring 4, 4 and 2½ *drōṇavāpas*, respectively, at the villages of Prishṭhima-pōttaka, Gōshāṭapuñjaka and Nitva-Gōhālī; home-stead land measuring 1½ *drōṇavāpas* at Vaṭa-Gōhālī.

<sup>1</sup> [Read °prārthayatē (°yētē).—Ed.]

<sup>2</sup> This expression can be compared with *ashṭakā-navaka-nalābhy* m occurring in the Dāmōdarpur Plates. The present practice in parts of Bengal and Assam is to measure out the lands by *nalas* or reeds of a definite measurement in cubits, which differ in different localities. The *shatka*, *ashṭaka* and *navaka* as referred to the *nalas* may therefore mean *nalas* of so many cubits (i.e., 6, 8 or 9).

<sup>3</sup> [Dr. N. P. Chakravarti connects it with the Bengali word *hichhā* meaning to select or choose.—Ed.]

<sup>4</sup> Read *krimir*.<sup>o</sup> [But *krimir*, in is also allowed.—Ed.] <sup>5</sup> Read °bhakubhir<sup>o</sup> <sup>6</sup> Read *bhūmis*.

<sup>7</sup> Read *matimatām*. [The reading *mahimatām* given in the plate is also correct.—Ed.]

<sup>8</sup> Read *anambunshu*. [The plate correctly gives *anambunshu*.—Ed.]

<sup>9</sup> Read =āhayaḥ.

<sup>10</sup> [See foot-note 5 on p. 61 above.—Ed.]

<sup>11</sup> The mention of flowers in the worship of the Arhats or Jinas indicates a point of difference between the practice of the old Nigrantha and the modern Digambara Jinas. The latter do not permit the use of flowers in as much as the insects likely to be present in the flowers may be destroyed thereby. The Svētāmbaras, however, have no objection to this practice.

The Council, in the first instance, consulted the Board of Record-Keepers presided over by Divākaranandin, who pointed out that there was no objection to the transaction, especially as, besides bringing some revenue to the treasury, it would entitle His Majesty to a sixth share of the religious merit accruing from the endowment. The Council, therefore, decided to accept the offer of the Brāhmaṇa couple and recorded the transfer of land.

The village elders of the respective villages at which the lands in question were situated, were then asked by the Council to mark out the boundaries of the lands thus granted and maintain them in perpetuity. The date was the 7th day of Māgha, in the [Gupta] year 159. The usual imprecatory verses follow.

#### No. 6.—KOTAVUMACHGI INSCRIPTION OF VIKRAMADITYA V.

By R. S. PANCHAMUKHI, M.A., OOTACAMUND.

**Kōṭavumachgi** is a village about 14 miles to the north-east of Gadag, the headquarters of the Gadag Taluk of the Dharwar District. The inscription, which is edited below, is engraved on a stone-tablet set up in front of the temple of Kalamēśvara which is standing there. The inscribed portion of the stone covers an area of 6' 2" by 1' 11" and is in a state of very good preservation. The inscription is neatly written in the **Kanarese script** of about the 11th century A.D. As regards **palaeography**, the chief points requiring notice are : (i) the lingual *ḍ* and *ḷ* are not clearly distinguished from the dental *d* ; compare for example *chhandav-aḷamkāra* (l. 25), *paṁneraḍu* (ll. 17, 29), *kūṇḍe* (l. 33), *paḍiyale* (l. 34), etc. ; (ii) the *u*-sign is indicated in three different ways, viz., (1) by a short hook at the bottom of the letter as in *Puligere* (l. 7), *paṁneraḍu* (ll. 17, 29), *vondu* (l. 36), etc., (2) by a mark with a downward bend by the side of the letter, as in *kuḍise kuḍe* (l. 13), *maṭṭar-ayḍu* (ll. 18, 20), *kuruva-gey* (l. 28), etc., and (3) by a long right side stroke shooting from the bottom of the letter as in *Pushya śuddha* (l. 10), *nivēśanaṁgaḷu* (l. 46) ; (iii) the *e*-sign is given, sometimes, below the letter and resembles the *u*-sign, as in *Puligere* (l. 7) or in *belgoḍe* (l. 13). In one case it is represented by a horizontal stroke at the bottom of the letter, as in *Belvola* (l. 7) ; (iv) the final *m* is used in two places, i.e., in ll. 52 and 54 and is shaped like the secondary *ma*. Excepting the three imprecatory verses in Sanskrit, which come at the end, the record is written in **Kanarese prose** of the mediæval period. The words *ghaḷige* (l. 13) (which is a *tadbhava* of *ghaṭikā*) and *chhaṭṭa* (l. 24) (which is the *tadbhava* of *chhātra*) are of lexical interest ; so also, *kuruva-gey* (l. 28), *kūṇḍe* (l. 33), *paḍiyale* (l. 34) and *pārikhāya* (l. 41). In **orthography** the only point which requires mention here is the use of *r* and *ḷ* in place of *r* and *ḷ* as in *mūru* (l. 33) and *ḷu-kōṭi* (l. 48) respectively.

After *svasti*, the inscription opens with the usual prelude announcing that **Tribhuvana-malla Vikramādityadēva (V)** was reigning at the time and that **Belvola-Three Hundred** and **Puligere-Three Hundred** were administered by his subordinate **Daṇḍanāyaka Kēśavayya** whom it describes as ' the obtainer of the five great *śabdās*, the *Mahāsāmāntādhipati*, the great and fierce commander-in-chief of armies and a favourite hero of his master ' (ll. 1-8). After giving the date (ll. 9-11) it records that **Daṇḍanāyaka Kēśavayya** granted, with the king's permission, the village **Ummachige** situated in **Nareyanṅal-Twelve** to **Maunara Śrīdhara-Bhaṭṭa** of **Rōṇa** (ll. 9-13). The latter, in his turn, entrusted it to the 104 *Mahājanas* of the place specifying certain conditions to be observed by them. Lines 14-32 mention the income of certain estates under

different headings, namely, the maintenance of the temples and temple servants, the emoluments of *Bhaṭṭa* and *Akkariga*,<sup>1</sup> the stipends of students and the feeding of the *elkōṭi* ascetics.<sup>2</sup> Then follow the specifications of land and taxes levied on festive occasions such as *upanayana*, marriage, vedic sacrifices, *Bādube*,<sup>3</sup> *Kārapuṇṇime* and *Dīpālige*, with a remark that they should be enjoyed by the *Ūroḍeya* (ll. 33-36). It further states (ll. 36-43) that fines on certain crimes it has specified, incomes derived from spoils, *daśavandha* (*daśabandha*) of escheat property of persons dying intestate and taxes on musical instruments such as *kāḷe* and *maddaḷe* are to be utilised for repairs, etc., of the tank called *Dēyimgere* at Ummachige. Lines 43-46 contain the stipulation that the *Mahājanas* should protect the estates and maintain the gift even in adverse circumstances. The record was written by *Gōvinda-Bhaṭṭa* and engraved by *Chāvōja* (l. 54).

The inscription is dated the Śaka year 934, the 8th day of the bright half of the month *Pushya*, *Paridhāvin saṁvatsara*, Sunday and the *Uttarāyana-saṁkrānti*. These details do not appear to be quite regular. Except for the week day, the date corresponds, according to Swamikannu Pillai's *Ephemeris*, to Tuesday, 23rd December A.D. 1012.<sup>4</sup>

The inscription is important as it reveals the name of a new subordinate of Vikramāditya, viz., the *Mahāsāmantādhipati Kēsavayya* who was administering the two Six-Hundreds at the time of the grant. A record<sup>5</sup> secured from Hosūr in the Gadag Taluk dated in A.D. 1029 refers to the *Mahāsāmantādhipati Kēsavarasa* in the passage "*Mahāsāmantādhipati mahāprachanda-danda-nāyakam śrīmat-Kēsavarasara tadagra-tanūjam* [!]\* *Svasti samadhigata-paṁcha-mahāśabda mahā-sandhi-vigraha-ādhipati mahāprachanda-dandanāyakam śrī-Vāvaṇarasar-eradarunūrumam* . . . . . *nāluttam-ire* . . . . . " as the father of *Vāvaṇarasa* who was then governing the two Six-Hundreds under Jayasimha, the younger brother and successor of Vikramāditya V. It is this *Vāvaṇarasa* who figures as a subordinate of Jayasimha II in the Hoṭṭūr inscription of Śaka 959 (A.D. 1037) and the Hulgūr inscription of Śaka 960 (A.D. 1038).<sup>6</sup> *Kēsavarasa* appears to have succeeded *Śōbbhanarasa*<sup>7</sup> in the administration of the two districts, sometime after A.D. 1004 when, according to a record<sup>8</sup> of Yeliśirūr, the latter was still the governor. We know from the Nūlgund inscription<sup>9</sup> of Taila II dated in Śaka 904 that *Kannapa* was appointed as the governor of Belvola-300 and Purigere-300 by Taila II and that he was succeeded by his brother

<sup>1</sup> *Akkariga* is made up of *Akkara* (Skt. *Akshara*) and *iga*, a *taddhita* termination indicating knowledge, according to the *Sūtra* तद्विषयैवे वा || 167 || of the *Karṇātaka-Bhāṣābhūṣaṇa* of Nāgavarma, p. 62 (Mysore Government edition). The word, therefore, means 'one who is well versed in (the science of) words.'

<sup>2</sup> *Elkōṭi* ascetics are probably the devotees of Śiva in the form of Mallāri who with an army of 'seven crores' destroyed the demons Malla and his brother. See for the story *Imp. Gaz.*, Vol. XVII, pp. 30-31.

<sup>3</sup> *Bādube* is a Kanarese name for the new-moon day of Vaiśākha, *Kārapuṇṇime* for the full-moon day of Jyēṣṭha and *Dīpālige* for the new-moon day of Āśvina. For Kanarese names of all the full-moon days and new moon days of a year, see Dr. Fleet's note in *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. V, pp. 11 ff.

<sup>4</sup> An inscription of Vikramāditya V bearing the Śaka date 93[5] is noticed in Appendix B (No. 722) of the *Madras Epigraphical Report* for 1923. But the reading of the last figure is doubtful. (see *ibid* p. 101). A record from Karadihalli in the Mysore State (*Ep. Carn.*, Vol. VII, Sk. 287) belonging to the same king is dated clearly Śaka 933, *Paridhāvin, Pushya*, Śu. 13, Monday (=Monday, the 29th December A.D. 1012) which may be regarded as his latest date known so far. The present inscription is thus six days earlier than the latest epigraph of Vikramāditya V.

<sup>5</sup> No. 110 of the Bombay Karnatak collection for 1926-27.

<sup>6</sup> See above Vol. XVI, pp. 75 ff. and pp. 332 ff. In the published text of the former record, the name appears to have been wrongly read as *Chāvānarasa*.

<sup>7</sup> The relationship between *Śōbbhanarasa* and *Kēsavarasa* is not disclosed by inscriptions.

<sup>8</sup> No. 62 of the Bombay Karnatak collection for 1926-27.

<sup>9</sup> *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. IV, pp. 206 ff.

Śōbhanarasa in the government of those provinces in about A.D. 982. It is likely that Taila II, after overthrowing the Gaṅga chief Pañchaladēva shortly after A.D. 975, invested Kannapa<sup>1</sup> with the governorship of the two districts as stated in the above record. Thus we get, after the downfall of the Gaṅgas, a succession of rulers of the Belvola and Purigere provinces in the 10th and 11th centuries of the Christian era, namely Kannapa, Śōbhanarasa, Kōśavarasa and Vāvaṇarasa.

From this inscription it can be gathered that Ummachige was a great educational centre in the beginning of the 11th century A.D. and maintained a college, with a free hostel attached to it, where instruction was imparted in several sciences. It allots a share of fifty *mattar* with one house-site to the *Bhaṭṭa* who could expound *Nyāsa* and *Prabhākara* and twenty-five *mattar* to the pupils studying those subjects, while twenty-five *mattar* and one house-site only are given to the *Akkariḡa* (man of letters) named Nāgadēsiga who could teach and compose works on mathematics, astronomy, prosody, poetics, etc., and was well versed in grammar. It is enjoined that this Nāgadēsiga should teach his pupils feeding them once a day and supplying them with a cloth every year. These two *vr̥ttis* are respectively called *bhaṭṭa-vr̥tti* and *akkariga-vr̥tti* in the record. It is interesting to note that the *Bhaṭṭa* and his pupils are the recipients of separate shares in the village whereas the *Akkariḡa*, who enjoys a lesser income, has also to feed and clothe his pupils. From this distinction in the two *vr̥ttis*, it is apparent that the curriculum of education was divided into two sections of which one was intended for specialisation in *śāstras* and the other meant for the general needs of a student. Among the subjects taught, *Nyāsa*<sup>2</sup> was, possibly, be a work on grammar; *Prabhākara* is a work of the Mīmāṃsā school of philosophy started by Prabhākara.

The record is interesting from another point of view also. It gives us a peep into the system of village administration in ancient times in Karnāṭaka. From the details of the grant given in ll. 14-41, it seems that the proper conduct of worship in temples, the imparting of education, the feeding of ascetics, the supply of water to the village people and the punishment of criminals were the chief items which claimed the immediate attention of the administrator. Regarding the last item, it is worthy of note that the inscription mentions a number of crimes taken cognisance of by the authorities and the penalties imposed in each case.<sup>3</sup> They are: (1) for abusing one another (*baydaḡe*), 2 *paṇas*; (2) for assault (*baḡulade*), 12 *paṇas*; (3) for drawing out the dagger (*surige-gillade*), 3 *gadyāṇas*—a *māṇi*<sup>4</sup> who ascends the processional *maṇḡapa* with weapons is excepted. (4) for stabbing (*iridaḡe*), 12 *gadyāṇas* and (5) for a bachelor (*māṇi*) committing adultery (*māṇi sūle-gēdaḡe*), 3 *gadyāṇas*. It is stated that the fines thus realised together with the spoils (*karante*), one-tenth (*daśavaṇḡha*)<sup>5</sup> of the escheat property (*aputrika-dravya*)<sup>6</sup> and taxes on musical instruments must be utilised for the upkeep and repairs of the tank called Dēyimgere mentioned above. The Ūroḡeya, i.e., the village officer was authorised to change the amount

<sup>1</sup> Hebhal inscription of A.D. 975 mentions a certain Kannapayya as the *Pergade* of Bhujagabbarasi, the grandmother of the Gaṅga chief Mārasimha II. See *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. IV, pp. 370 ff.

<sup>2</sup> References to *Nyāsa* in Sanskrit literature show that it must be a grammatical work. See *Catalogus Catalogorum* by T. Aufrecht, p. 312 and *Ind. Ant.*, Vols. XLIV, p. 275 and XLV, p. 25 and Māgha, II, 122.

<sup>3</sup> See *Historical Sketches of the Ancient Dekhan* by K. V. S. Aiyer, pp. 326 ff. and *T. A. S.*, Vol. III, pp. 191 ff.

<sup>4</sup> *Māṇi* is a *brahmachārin* who does service in the temple. See *S. I. I.*, Vol. III, part iii, p. 227. In line 35, however, it is used in the sense of *upanyāna*.

<sup>5</sup> *Daśavaṇḡha* means a tenth part; it does not seem to have been used here in its technical sense of land or of revenue granted as a compensation for the construction, repairs, etc., of a tank, well or channel. See *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XXX, p. 107, note 12 and page 267, note 2.

<sup>6</sup> According to *Manusmṛiti*, IX 183, *aputrika-dravya* was the state property. In this case, however, it belonged to Śrīdhara-Bhaṭṭa who set apart one-tenth of it for the purpose specified.


[illegible]

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28 28  
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42 42  
44 44  
46 46  
48 48  
50 50  
52 52  
54 54

of fines in respect of certain crimes according to the caste of the offender. This is in keeping with the laws laid down in the *Dharmaśāstra*.<sup>1</sup>

Of the places mentioned in the inscription, **Rōṇa** is the modern Ron, the headquarters of the Ron Taluk in the Dharwar District. **Nareyaṁgal** which was the chief town of **Nareyaṁgal-12**, a sub-division in the **Belvola-300** province, is the modern Naregal situated at a distance of 10 miles from Ron. **Ummachige** is evidently identical with **Kōṭavumachgi** where the record was found.

### TEXT<sup>2</sup>

- 1  Svasti [ \* ] Samasta-bhuvan-āśraya-Śrī-Prithvī-vallabha-mahārī-
- 2 jādhirāja-paramēśvara-paramabhaṭṭārakaṁ Satyāśraya-ku-
- 3 ḷa-tiḷakaṁ Chālūkyābharaṇaṁ śrīmat-Tribhuvanamalla-Vikra-
- 4 māditṣadēvara rājyam=uttarōttar-ābhivṛddhige salutta-
- 5 m-ire [ \* ] Samadhiḷata-paṁcha-mahāśabda mahāśāmantādhipati
- 6 mahā-prachaṇḍa-daṇḍanāyakam pati-mechche-gaṇḍaṁ śrīmad-Daṇḍanā-
- 7 yakaṁ Kēśavayyaṁgaḷ-Belvola-mūnūraṁ Puligere-mūnūruvaṁ su-
- 8 kha-saṁkathā-vinōdadin-āḷuttam-iḷdu [ \* ] Śrīmat-Tribhuvanamalla-
- 9 dēvaraṁ prā[r]tthisi Rōṇa Maunara Śrīdharabhaṭṭargge Śaka-varsha 934-
- neya
- 10 Paridhāvi-saṁvatsarada Pushya śuddha aṣṭamī Ādityavāra vuttarā-
- 11 yaṇa saṁkrāntiyandu Nareyaṁgal=Panneraḍaḷagaṇa Ummachi-
- 12 [ge]yaṁ sarvābhyaṁtara-siddhiyāgi sarvvanamaśyav-aggrahāraṁ mā-
- 13 ḍi śāsanaṁ belgoḍe ghaḷige verasu paḍedu kuḍise kuḍe paḍed-āyū-
- 14 ran-ā-Śrīdharabhaṭṭar nūṇaḷvar=mmahājanake bharaṇaṁ-geydu tavagaṇa
- 15 mahājanakkaṁ prajegaṁ māḍida vyavastheyuṁ<sup>3</sup> dharmma-brayad=upabiyada
- 16 mānyada bhūmiya nivēśanada pramāṇamu[m=e]nt=ene Sōmēśvaradēvargge ma-
- 17 ttar-āḷu Bhāgiyabbēśvarakke mattar=ppanneraḍu eḷkōṭi-tapōdhanara
- 18 satrakke mattar=ppanneraḍu Āychagāvuṇḍana dēgulakke mattar=aydu maney=o-
- 19 ndu Ādityadēvargge mattar=aydu maney=ondu Beṭṭada-Bhagavatige
- 20 mattar=aydu maney=ondu Nārāyaṇadēvargge mattar=aydu maney=onda=
- 21 nt=ayvattu mattar=kkeyyuman=avaṇa nivēśanaṁgaḷuvaṁ Bendeyabhaṭṭārara
- saṁ-
- 22 tatiya brahmacharyyavulla naiśṭhika-tapōdhanar-āgiy=anubhavisuvar [ \* ]
- 23 Mārakabbe-Bhaṭṭarige mattar=ppanneraḍu maney=ondu Nyāsaṁ Prabhākara-
- vuvaṁ
- 24 vakkhāṇisi guṇaśāsanaḍin=uṇba bhaṭṭa-vṛitti mattar=ayvattu maney=ondu
- chēhhaṭṭargge

<sup>1</sup> Compare *Manusmṛiti*, Chap. VIII, Vv. 267-268 and *Yājñavalkyasmṛiti*, Chapt. II, Vv. 220-224.

<sup>2</sup> From ink-impression.

<sup>3</sup> The u-sign is indistinct and resembles the consonant y mark.



- 25 mattar=irppattaydu gaṇitam jōyisa-chchhanda-vaḷamkāravuvan=ābhaya.. veyuvam  
ba-
- 26 reyalum bājisalum balla śabda-saṁskāravuḷlāta Nāgadēsigargge nityasthitiy=o-
- 27 ndu poḷṭaḷ=āhāramum varishakk=ondu kappāḍavuvan=ikkiy=ōḍisi guṇaśāsa-
- 28 nadin=āḷv=akkariga-vṛitti mattar=irppattaydu maney=ondu kuruva-gey=mattar=  
ppanne-
- 29 raḍu maney=ondu gaḷamtige-gey=mattar=āru maney=ondu nāvida-gey=mattar=  
em-
- 30 ṭu maney=ondu parekārgge mattar=ppannerāḍu maney=ondu guṇaśāsanadi-
- 31 n=āḷvara satrakke mattar=nnūru mane yeraḍ=antu dharmma-vrayakkam  
vupabiyakkam
- 32 mattar=mūnūru Ūroḍeyargge mānyada key=mattar=innūru maneg=enga-
- 33 yyagala virppattaygay=niḷa[da] nivēsanam mūru<sup>1</sup> [śāśva]ta<sup>2</sup> sumkam gāṇa-veyilige  
kūṇḍe mu-
- 34 ṭṭige paḍiyaḷe yajnadal=ondu gadyānam . . . .<sup>3</sup> aydu paṇam madu-  
veyal=era-
- 35 ḍu paṇam māṇiyal=ondu paṇam Bā[du]be Kāra-puṇami Dīpālige mūru  
parvvadoḷam
- 36 pratyēka vondu gadyāṇa imt=inituv=Ūroḍeyargge orbar=orbaram baydaḍe  
daṇḍav=eraḍu
- 37 paṇam baḍidaḍe pannerāḍu paṇam surige-giḷtaḍe mūru gadyāṇav=iṛidaḍe  
pannerāḍu gadyā-
- 38 ṇam jāti-bhēḍav=aṛidu daṇḍavam viśēsham-māḷpa[r] māṇi sūḷe-gēdaḍe<sup>4</sup>  
mūru gadyā-
- 39 ṇam prāyaschittam-goḷvandu mūru gadyānam māṇiy-āyudha berasu maṇḍa-  
pa-
- 40 vēḷal=sallad=int=i-daṇḍadoḷam kava[r]tteyoḷav=aputrika-dravyada daśavandhodoḷam  
puṭṭi-
- 41 da dravyamuvam kaḷe maddaḷeya paṇamum Dēyimgerege [[\*] Idan=  
upēkshisidātam
- 42 keṇyan=oḍeda pātakan=akkum pārīkhāyam modalāg=eḷla mūrggē . . ni-
- 43 vēsanam koṭṭa yikkuvavargge gāmuṇḍarggam kiljātiya mukkyarggam pra-
- 44 tyēkam maney=ond=āchandr-ārka-tārambaram mānyada satrada dharmma-  
bra-
- 45 yad=upabiyad=ant=anituv=eḍeya key=mattar=ainūruman=<sup>5</sup>alliy=alli-
- 46 ya nivēsanamgaḷuman=enitu dushkālav=ādaḍam mahājanam kōḍu-
- 47 ḍuvar=idakke tappidavar=Kurukshētradoḷam Vāraṇāśiyolaṁ
- 48 eḷu-kōṭi Brāhmaṇaruvan=eḷu-kōṭi tapōdhanaruvan=eḷu-kōṭi

<sup>1</sup> The word *mūru* is written below the line.

<sup>2</sup> Read [śāśva]ta.

<sup>3</sup> The writing here is completely effaced.

<sup>4</sup> Read 'geydaḍe'.

<sup>5</sup> Between *rai* and *nū* a superfluous letter which looks like *ḷu* is written and erased.

- 49 kavileyuvan=aḷida paṁcha-mahā-pātakan=akkuṁ || Sāmānyō-  
 50 yaṁ dharmma-sētuṁr(sētur)=nṛipāṇām kālē kālē pālanīyō bhavadbhiḥ |  
 51 sarvvān=ētān=bhāgīnaḥ pārtthivēndrān=bhūyō bhūyō yāchatē Rāmabhadraḥ ||  
 52 Śva-dattām para-dattām vā yō harēta vasuṁdharām [\*] shashṭi var-  
 sha-sahasrāṇi viśṭāyām<sup>1</sup> jāva-  
 53 tē krimiḥ || Bahubhir=vvasudhā bhuktā rājabhis=Sagar-ādibhiḥ [\*] yasya  
 yasya yadā bhūmi-  
 54 [s=ta]sya tasya tadā phalam || Gōvindabhaṭṭa[m] bareda Chāvōjam  
 kaṇḍarisida maṅgaḷa mahā-śrī [,\*]

### Translation.

(Ll. 1-4) Hail ! While the reign of the glorious Tribhuvanamalla Vikramādityadēva, the refuge of the whole world, the lord of Fortune and Earth, the *Mahārājādhirāja*, the *Paramēśvara*, the *Paramabhaṭṭāraka*, the decoration of the race of Satyāśraya, an ornament of the Chālukyas, was increasing in prosperity,

(Ll. 5-8) while the chief of great feudatories, the august General who had attained the five *mahāśabdās*, a man of might causing pleasure to his master, the glorious *Daṇḍanāyaka* Kēśavayya was administering with enjoyment of pleasant conversation, the Belvola-Three Hundred and Puligeṛe-Three Hundred (*provinces*),

(Ll. 8-13) (*Kēśavayya*), after requesting the glorious Tribhuvanamalladēva, made (*the village*) Ummachiḡe situated in Nareyaṁgal-Twelve into an *agrahāra* on *sarvanamasya* tenure along with full and complete rights of enjoyment of all the properties and obtaining it (*from him*) together with the royal charter, the white umbrella and *ghaḷige* (*i.e.*, an assembly hall)<sup>2</sup>, caused it to be granted to Maunara Śrīdharabhaṭṭa of Rōṇa, on the eighth day of the bright half of Pushya, Sunday, the Uttarāyana-samkrānti, in the Śaka year 934 corresponding to the cyclic year Paridhāvi.

(Ll. 13-16) That Śrīdharabhaṭṭa, after thus getting it, entrusted the village to the hundred and four Mahājanas with the conditions of enjoyment by himself, the Mahājanas and the people (*of the village*) ; the extents of land and house-sites for meeting the expenses of charity, other auxiliary objects and for grants for services (*mānya*) are as follows :—

(Ll. 16-22) Six *mattar* to god Sōmēśvara, twelve *mattar* to (*the temple of*) Bhāgiyabbēśvara<sup>3</sup>; twelve *mattar* to the feeding house of *elkōḷi* ascetics ; five *mattar* and one house(-*site*) to Āyachagā-vuṇḍa's temple ; five *mattar* and one house(-*site*) to Ādityadēva ; five *mattar* and one house(-*site*) to (*the goddess*) Beṭṭada-Bhagavati ; five *mattar* and one house(-*site*) to god Nārāyaṇa—these fifty *mattar* of land in all and the house-sites attached to them must be enjoyed by the bachelors of the family of Bendeyabhaṭṭāra, following the course of the *naishṭhika*<sup>4</sup> ascetica.

<sup>1</sup> Read *viśṭhāyām*.

<sup>2</sup> See above Vols. XIII, p. 327n and XV, p. 93.

<sup>3</sup> The temple was perhaps named after Bhāgalabbe, the mother of Vikramāditya V.

<sup>4</sup> *Naishṭhika* is one who lives in the house of his preceptor as a *brahmachārī* throughout his life. He is described as follows in the *Garuḍapurāṇa* :—

नैष्ठिकी ब्रह्मचारी च ब्रह्मचार्यसन्निवी । तदभावेऽस्य तनयै परन्वा येनानरिऽपि वा ॥

इमेन विधिना ईदं साधयेदितिर्द्वयः । ब्रह्मलीकमवाप्नोति न चेह आयते पुनः ॥

(Ll. 23-32) Twelve *mattar* and one house(-*site*) to the deity Mārakabbe Bhaṭāri, fifty *mattar* and one house(-*site*) towards *bhaṭṭa-vṛtti* to be enjoyed in return for performing the duties of expounding *Nyāsa* and *Prabhākara*, twenty-five *mattar* to the pupils, twenty-five *mattar* and one house(-*site*) as *akkariḡa-vṛtti* to Nāgadēsiga who was able to compose and expound (*the works on*) mathematics, astronomy, prosody, poetics and . . . . and who had a knowledge of sounds (*i.e.*, *Vyākaraṇa*), to be utilised for his daily requirements in virtue of his services of teaching his pupils, feeding them once a day and supplying (*them*) with a cloth every year; twelve *mattar* and one house(-*site*) for (*the supply of*) tender cocoanuts<sup>1</sup>; six *mattar* and one house(-*site*) for (*the supply of*) vessels<sup>2</sup> for *abhishēka*; eight *mattar* of land and one house(-*site*) for barbers; twelve *mattar* and one house(-*site*) for drummers; (*one*) hundred *mattar* and two house(-*sites*) to the feeding-house of those that manage by *guṇaśāsana*.<sup>3</sup> Thus in all three hundred *mattar* (*were set apart*) for charity and auxiliary expenses.

(Ll. 33-36) Two hundred *mattar* as *mānya* land and three house(-*sites*)—eight hands broad and twenty-five hands long each—to the *Uroḡeyz*. Moreover, the *Uroḡeyz*(shall get these following) taxes permanently :—a *kūṇḡe* for the open space of an oil-press; the reaper of a door-frame for every set of wooden materials (*for building purposes*)<sup>4</sup>; one *gadyāṇa* for a vedic sacrifice; five *paṇas* for . . . . ., two *paṇas* for a marriage; one *paṇa* on the occasion of *upanayana*, one *gadyāṇa* severally on the three *pūrvas* of *Bālube*, *Kārapaṇiṇa* and *Dipāḡige*.

(Ll. 36-43) The incomes accruing from the following fines, *viz.*, two *paṇas* for abusing one another, twelve *paṇas* for beating; three *gadyāṇas* for drawing out the dagger, twelve *gadyāṇas* for stabbing—(*they*) may change (*the amount of*) fine considering the distinction of caste—three *gadyāṇas*, in case a bachelor commits adultery; three *gadyāṇas* on the occasion of purification ceremony—except when a *māṇi* gets up a processional *maṇḡapa* with weapons<sup>5</sup>; that obtained as spoils (*after a raid*), one-tenth (*daśavandha*) of the escheat property of persons dying intestate and the taxes on (*musical instruments*) *kaḡe* and *maddaḡe* (*the drum*); all these shall go to (*the tank called*) *Dēyīmgeḡe*. He who neglects this shall incur the sin of breaking the tank. A house-site . . . . . including *pārikhāya*, etc., (*was set apart*). Those that keep a cowpen (*koṭṭa*), the *gāmuṇḡas* and the chief men of the low caste (*must get*) one house(-*site*) each.

(Ll. 43-46) The five hundred *mattar* (*of land*) and the respective sites (*attached to them*), (*granted*) as *mānya*, and for the purposes of feeding house, charity and auxiliary gifts, the *Mahājanas* shall protect and cause to be enjoyed as long as the moon, the sun and the stars (*exist*), however adverse the times may be.

(Ll. 46-48) Those that fail (*to carry this out*) shall incur the five great sins consequent upon the killing at Kurukshētra and Vāraṇāsi, of seven crores of Brahmins, seven crores of ascetics and seven crores of tawny cows.

(Ll. 48-53) Three imprecatory verses.

(L. 54) Gōvindabhaṭṭa wrote (*this*); and Chāvōja engraved. (*May there be*) fortune and great prosperity.

<sup>1</sup> *Kuruva* seems to stand for *kurubs* which means a tender cocoanut. (See Kittel's *Kanarese Dictionary*, p. 446.)

<sup>2</sup> The word used here is *gaḡantige* which is a *tadbhava* of the Sanskrit word *galantikā*. It means a small water-jar with a hole in the bottom from which the water drops upon a *lāḡa*.

<sup>3</sup> The exact significance of this word is not clear.

<sup>4</sup> For the meaning of the word *muffu*, see Kittel's *Kanarese Dictionary*, p. 1263.

<sup>5</sup> This parenthetical clause evidently provides an exception to the fine stated above for drawing out the sword.

## No. 7.—THE HATHIGUMPHA INSCRIPTION OF KHARAVELA.

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This inscription is incised partly in front and partly on the roof of the **Hāthīgumphā**, an artificial cave, on the southern face of the **Udayagiri**, a low range of hills situated about three miles from Bhuvaneśvar in the Purī district of Orissa. It was noticed for the first time by Stirling in 1825<sup>2</sup> and was published by Prinsep from an eye-copy prepared by Kittoe in 1837.<sup>3</sup> In 1877 Cunningham published a tracing in the first volume of the *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*.<sup>4</sup> In 1880 the late Raja Rajendra Lala Mitra published another version of this inscription.<sup>5</sup> About this time a cast of this inscription was prepared and taken to the Indian Museum, Calcutta. The first reliable version of the record was issued from the able pen of the late Dr. Bhagvanlal Indraji in 1885.<sup>6</sup> In 1895 and 1898 the late Dr. Bühler proposed certain corrections.<sup>7</sup> The first inked impression was taken by the late Dr. T. Bloch in 1906 and sent to Prof. Kielhorn from whom it passed on to the late Dr. J. F. Fleet, who published two short notes proposing certain corrections in the reading of the 16th line.<sup>8</sup> In the same year Prof. Lüders of Berlin published a summary of this inscription.<sup>9</sup> In 1913 RDB<sup>10</sup>, examined portions of this record at the request of KPJ., and in 1917 he prepared two inked impressions at the request of the late Dr. V. A. Smith and KPJ.,<sup>10</sup> one of which was published in the *Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society*,<sup>11</sup> and the second sent to Dr. F. W. Thomas, the then editor of this journal. Soon after the publication of the text, KPJ. went to the cave and prepared a revised text of his readings from the rock itself and published the same in 1918 in the *Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society*.<sup>12</sup> Sir Edward Gait, the then Lieutenant-Governor of Bihār and Orissa, who was greatly interested in the decipherment of the inscription, arranged a deputation of RDB., the then Superintendent of the Western Circle of the Archaeological Survey of India, to go with KPJ. and in 1919, we both examined the entire inscription on the spot. In the meantime a cast of the inscription was prepared at the suggestion of KPJ. by the Government of Bihār and Orissa. The order of Sir Edward Gait in this respect was executed by the late Mr. H. Panday of the Archaeological Survey Department who had accompanied KPJ. formerly and had become familiar with the inscription and the problems connected with it. This cast is now preserved in the Patna Museum. It is as successful a copy as the present condition of the original allowed it to be. Two impressions on paper were also taken for the Patna Museum. With the help of these materials the study was carried on by KPJ. at Patna. In 1924 both of us again went over the corrections. In 1927 KPJ. published the results of his further studies in the *Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society* with new plates prepared

<sup>1</sup> [I am sorry to record here his sad and untimely death which took place at Calcutta on 23rd May 1930. Scholars of Mr. R. D. Banerji's type it is difficult to replace.—Ed.].

<sup>2</sup> *Asiatic Researches*, Vol. XV, pp. 313 ff.

<sup>3</sup> *J. A. S. B.*, Vol. VI, pp. 1075-91, pl. LVIII.

<sup>4</sup> Pp. 27 f., 98-101, 132 ff., pl. XVII.

<sup>5</sup> *Antiquities of Orissa*, Vol. II, pp. 16 ff.

<sup>6</sup> *Actes du Sixième Congrès International des Orientalistes*, pt. III, section 2, pp. 163-177.

<sup>7</sup> *Indian Studies*, No. III, p. 13=Origin of Indian Brāhma Alphabet, pp. 13 f.

<sup>8</sup> *J. R. A. S.*, 1910, pp. 242 ff. and 824.

<sup>9</sup> *Ante*, Vol. X, App., pp. 160-61, No. 1345.

<sup>10</sup> [Author's initials].

<sup>11</sup> Vol. III, pl. I.

<sup>12</sup> Vol. IV pp. 364 ff.

from the paper impressions preserved in the Patna Museum.<sup>1</sup> In 1928 some further notes were published by him in the same journal.<sup>2</sup> We have again conjointly examined the cast and the impressions and effected a few important improvements in the reading and explanation as offered below. Amongst notable contributions on the problems connected with the inscription, we refer to the articles by Dr. Sten Konow<sup>3</sup> and Dr. F. W. Thomas.<sup>4</sup> We have to thank our friend Prof. Anant Sadashiv Altekar for the help he has rendered to us in preparing the notes for this edition.

The Hāthīgumphā appears to have been a natural cavern which was later on converted into a temple or residence. The roof consists of a huge boulder, and the inscription begins on the southern face but is continued up to a place where the stone has become actually the roof of the cave. The last eight or nine lines occur on a sloping surface where it is difficult either to read or copy them. Both of us had to recline partly on our backs to read the portion from the rock. Below the inscription the walls of the natural cavern have been chiselled straight and at places are as beautifully polished as those of the Barābar caves. Near the floor there are sundry rock-out partitions which do not appear to have been regular walls as they do not go up to the roof. In the dressed and polished portion of the side or the wall of the cave there are a number of later inscriptions (of about the 10th or the 11th century A.D.) many of which contain proper names which are not of any historical interest.<sup>5</sup> They prove, however, that the cave was visited by pilgrims up to the 10th century and therefore it must have been considered some sort of a sacred shrine. It seems reasonable to expect that the great Jaina king Khāravela inscribed the record of his reign at a place which was holy in his eyes. Is it impossible that this is the place where Mahāvīra had preached the Jaina religion in Kālīṅga, because this inscription proves that the place was included in Kālīṅga at that time and there is a distinct reference to the preaching of Jainism in its 14th line? The bed of the cave is full of sand in front and unless it is excavated its original form cannot be determined. Three stone pillars have lately been put up in front of the cave, to protect the inscription from the effects of the weather, under the orders of Government. The Hāthīgumphā stands at right angles to the Svargapurī and Mañchapurī on its left and the Sarpa cave on its right. There are several small and large excavations on the top of the boulder which forms the roof of the cave. As a whole the entire record has been very carefully inscribed. In two places only letters have been left out. In l. 14 the letter *ya* in *arakaṃyate* was left out and incised between ll. 14 and 15, its position in l. 14 being indicated by a *kākapada*. Two other letters *sa* and *ha* (?) are to be found in the interspaces immediately after *ya* but cannot be connected with any word in l. 14.

As regards **orthography** the inscription presents very few peculiarities. Ligatures are carefully avoided and the only instances where we meet with them are *Kaṇha-beṃṇā*- (l. 4), *Bamhaṇṇāṇam* (l. 9) and *-vinīśrito* (l. 17). In the majority of cases the nasals are replaced by *anusvāra* excepting the places where they are used either as initials or medials. The initial forms are to be seen in *-ṇāvakehi* (l. 14) and *ṇaninam* (l. 15) and the medial forms in *°raṇī°* (l. 15) and in the ligature in *Kaṇha-beṃṇā*- (l. 4). The use of the cerebral nasal is erratic and in the majority of cases the dental has been used but the cerebral is rather rare and is to be met with in *samputa*- (l. 2) and *guṇa*- (l. 17) only. With the exception of two cases all the sibilants are dental. These two cases are the cerebral in *-deṣṭa*- (l. 11) and the palatal in *-vinīśrito*

<sup>1</sup> Vol. XIII, pp. 221 ff.

<sup>2</sup> *Acta Orientalia*, Vol. I, pp. 12 ff.

<sup>3</sup> *Annual Report of the Archaeological Survey of India*, 1922-23, p. 130.

<sup>4</sup> Vol. XIV, pp. 150 ff.

<sup>5</sup> *J. R. A. S.*, 1922, pp. 83 f.

(l. 17). The writing seems to have been done by three different hands, and it is possibly on this account that the forms of the characters sometimes differ. The first part of the inscription was written on a carefully dressed surface but after the 4th and 5th lines the surface was undressed; and towards the end of all the lines after the 5th there are numerous chisel-marks which make the decipherment extremely difficult.

The language of the inscription is Prakrit. The use of *ra*, the affix *o* at the end of the nominatives of masculine stems ending in *a*, and the absence of palatal *śa* show that it is not Māgadhī or any eastern dialect of it. Throughout the inscription the dental has practically replaced all other sibilants. The doubling of consonants, even when necessary, has been omitted. The cerebralisation of dentals is also to be seen, as in *paṭhāpayati* (l. 3). There is also an attempt to approach classical Sanskrit in certain cases, e.g., *Māhāmeghavāhanena* (l. 1) and *vaṃ-dāpayati* (l. 12), etc. Throughout the record the liquification of consonants is absent. This would indicate that the record was composed by a man from Western India who wrote in a literary dialect. It is quite possible that the record was composed by a Jaina monk from Gujārāt or the Mahārāshṭra who might have been brought into Kalinga by King Khāravela for the purpose mentioned in l. 16. The language of the record is a very near approach to the canonical Pali. But, as in Jaina Śaurasēnī, *tha* in this dialect becomes *dha*, cf. *padhame* (l. 3), *radha*° (l. 4), *vitadha* (l. 5), *Goradhagiri*- (l. 7), *Madhuraṃ* (l. 8), *Bharadhavasa*- (l. 10), *Utarāpadha*- (l. 11), but not in all cases, cf. *Pithumḍa*- (l. 11). The extraordinary form *chavuthe* (l. 5) is a graphic form of *chavūthe*, but Prakrit *chaṇ* becomes *cho* in *Choyathī* (l. 16) which is a later Prakrit form of *chaturhashṭī*. So also Sanskrit *tvṛitam* becomes *turiyaṃ* (l. 16) instead of *turiam*. Perhaps *turitam* was the intermediate form but the change of *ta* into *ya* instead of *a* is exceptional.<sup>1</sup>

The characters of the inscription show great variety. Among the vowels, the initial forms of *a*, *ā*, *i*, *e*, *o* are to be found in it. The medial *ā* is denoted by a perfectly horizontal line in many cases as well as by a slanting stroke, as in *paṭhāpayati* (l. 4) and *-samuthāpitāhi* (l. 15). The medial form of the long *i* shows two diverging slanting strokes, in *-sarīra*- (l. 2) and two converging curved strokes in *kīḍitā* (l. 2). Among consonants two different forms of *kha* are noticeable, *Khāravele*° (l. 1) and *lekha*° (l. 2) in which the triangle at the bottom is either present or absent. Two different forms of *ga* are present, the angular Maurya form as in *nagarim* (l. 5), and the broad-backed Kushāṇa form, as in *Kaling-ā*° (l. 1). Three forms of *gha* are clear:—(1) the Maurya form with a circular bottom, (2) the transitional form in which the only side of the curve has turned into a right angle, cf. *-oghāṭitam* (l. 6), and (3) the complete second century form in which, though the length of the left-hand side vertical is not reduced, the lower part of the letter consists of two right angles instead of a curve. Two different forms of *ta* are to be found: the Maurya, as in *hita*-, *-ti-vasa*- (l. 6) and the later, as in *°pateye* (l. 6). In the case of *da* also we find two forms: the Maurya, as in *pāmdarasa*- (l. 2) and the later, as in *°dāti* (l. 9). Three different forms can be distinguished in the case of *pa* and *ma*:—(1) the Maurya form, as in *paṭhāpayati* and *pachhima*- (l. 4); (2) the transitional form, as in *-patinā* (l. 1), *-kāṇpanāhi* (l. 5), *maṭuka*- (l. 7), *Madhuraṃ* (l. 8), etc.; (3) the later form with angles fully developed in the place of curves as in *kapa-rukhe* (l. 9), *apayāto* (l. 8), *-samāja*° (l. 5), and *Satamam* (l. 7). It should be noted that the Kushāṇa form of *ma* is altogether wanting in this inscription. So also in the case of *ha* we find the Maurya form in *-sahasehi* and *haya*- (l. 4), the transitional form in *Mahārāja*° and *Māhāmeghavāhane*° (l. 1) and the angular form in *-vavahāra*- (l. 2). The general duct of the writing shows that the Hāthīgumpha inscription was inscribed at a time when the length of the verticals had not begun to decrease and the curves had just begun to become angularised. Therefore, this inscription

<sup>1</sup> [See f. no. 11 & 12 on page 89 below.—Ed.]

belongs to the same period as the earliest inscription from Mathurā edited by Bühler<sup>1</sup>, and it cannot be earlier than the beginning of the 2nd century B.C. or later than that of the 1st century B.C. For *na*, *ṇa* and other letters a reference is invited to the detailed palaeographical analysis by RDB, elsewhere.<sup>2</sup>

There are two **symbols**, one over the other at the beginning, and one at the end of the record. At the beginning the first symbol looks like a crown. KPJ. identifies it with the *Vaddha-maṅgala*.<sup>3</sup> The second is the *Svastika*. The last symbol is the Sacred Tree within a square enclosure or railing. There is an elaborate system of **spacing** in this record, the larger, corresponding to full stops. There is space before almost every proper name. The smaller spaces indicate clauses of a sentence.

It has been proved by repeated examinations of the rock that there is **no date** in a Maurya era in the 16th line of this inscription, as supposed by the late Bhagvanlal Indraji and ourselves formerly. The date will therefore depend upon synchronisms. The first of these synchronisms is with **Sātakarṇi**. It is now absolutely certain that the family name of the dynasty founded by Simuka is Sātavāhana and not Sātakarṇi.<sup>4</sup> The Nānāghāṭ inscriptions supply the label *Rāyā Simuka-Sātavāhana* for the statue of Simuka. There were more kings than one of the name of Sātakarṇi, and the first king of that name is called Siri Sātakarṇi both on his coins and in the label on his statue at Nānāghāṭ. Subsequent Sātakarṇis with whose names we meet in epigraphical records added their metronymics to distinguish themselves from their predecessors, e.g., Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi, Vāsishṭhīputra Śiva-Śrī Sātakarṇi and Gautamīputra Śrī Yajña Sātakarṇi. It is therefore evident that this record refers to a Sātakarṇi who was a contemporary king in the Western regions. The name is not to be taken as a reference to an unidentified dynastic title. And the only king of this dynasty who can safely be ascribed to the period when Khāravela was ruling is Śrī Sātakarṇi, the husband of Nāyanikā, and not Gautamīputra or Śiva-Śrī or Śrī Yajña. About Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi it is to be observed that the long record in cave No. 3 in the Pāṇḍulēnā group does not mention the king or the country of Kālīṅga, and thereby proves that Kālīṅga or Orissa was not included in his conquests and, very probably also, that he did not come in close contact with Khāravela or any other king of Kālīṅga, though the Amarāvati and China inscriptions of Pulumāvi and Śrī Yajña prove definitely that the whole of Kālīṅga had passed under their dominion.<sup>5</sup> The other kings of the name of Sātakarṇi are excluded as being, *inter alia*, too late to be Khāravela's contemporaries. According to the Purāṇic lists Sātakarṇi II comes 36 years after Sātakarṇi I. RDB. has proved that the dissentient view about the Hāthīgumphā inscription being later than the Nānāghāṭ records is untenable.<sup>6</sup> Therefore the Sātakarṇi of the Hāthīgumphā inscription must be Sātakarṇi I. The statement in l. 6 about Khāravela's subjugation of the **Raṭhikas** and **Bhojakas** shows that up to the 4th year of the reign of Khāravela they existed as separate states, as in the time of Aśoka, but subsequently these states must have been swallowed up by the Sātavāhanas. Therefore, Khāravela's conflict with Sātakarṇi must have taken place

<sup>1</sup> *Ante*, Vol. II, p. 198.

<sup>2</sup> *Memoirs*, A. S. B., Vol. X, pp. 133 ff.

<sup>3</sup> *J. B. O. R. S.*, Vol. III, p. 429.

<sup>4</sup> KPJ. put it forward in 1914 in his *Brahmin Empire*, and the view has been confirmed by the discovery of the last record of the family-name, clearly. *Ante*, Vol. XIV, p. 153. *Sātavāhana* as the family-name is fully borne out by literature. [See *J. B. O. R. S.*, Vol. XVI, pp. 258 ff. on Sātavāhana history.—K. P. J.]

<sup>5</sup> *Ante*, Vol. X, App. Nos. 1248 and 1340.

<sup>6</sup> *Memoirs*, A. S. B., Vol. X, p. 145. [See also *J. B. O. R. S.*, XVI, pp. 258 ff.—K. P. J.]

before the formation of the Sātavāhana empire covering the whole of Marāṭhī-speaking (e.g., Barhādī, Khāndeśī, Northern Marāṭhī and Koṅkaṇī) area.

The reference in the 6th line to the canal from *Tanasuliya-vāta*, which was excavated in the year 103 of King Nanda, will fix the upper limit of Khāravela's time, like the reference to Muriya-kāla (the time of Muriya in l. 16). Chālukya Vikramāditya VI in the Yeḍarāve inscription is said to have established his Chālukya era after abolishing the eras of Vikramāditya, Nanda and Śaka. "Having said 'Why should the glory of the Kings Vikramāditya and Nanda be a hindrance any longer?', he, with a loudly uttered command, abolished that (*era*) which has the name of Śaka, and made that (*era*) which has the Chālukya counting".<sup>1</sup> Again, we have the definite datum that Alberuni found in use in his time an era with the initial year 458 B.C., which goes back to the time of the first Nanda king (Nanda Vardhana).<sup>2</sup> The year 103 of the Nanda era would correspond to 355 B.C. when the Tanasuliya canal, which Khāravela extended to the capital in the 5th year of his reign, was originally excavated. If we take this Nanda to be the last Nanda, Khāravela would be referring to (325 B.C.—103=) c. 222 B.C. and not to any later year. But we have something more definite in the next datum, namely, the contemporaneity with Bahasatimita. In line 12 Khāravela reaches the Sugamgiya palace, i.e., the famous Maurya palace at Pāṭaliputra mentioned in the *Mudrārākṣha*.<sup>3</sup> Bahasatimita is expressly called the King of Magadha. Now we know from coins that Bahasatimitra and Agnimitra issued coins of the same type. This much we may take as certain that the time of Bahasatimitra, whosoever he may be, is the first half of the 2nd century B.C.<sup>4</sup> Āshāḍhasēna, who belonged to the royal family of Adhichchhatrā, describes himself as the maternal uncle of King Bahasatimitra in the Pabhosā inscription,<sup>5</sup> and Āshāḍhasēna dates his record in the 10th year of Odraka,<sup>6</sup> whom KPJ. has identified with a king of the Śuṅga dynasty. Bahasatimitra's coins have been found at Kosam (Kauśāmbī)<sup>7</sup> which was a state on the borders of Magadha. The characters of the coins agree with those of the Hāthīgumpha inscription.<sup>8</sup> As Bahasatimitra does not occur in the list of the Mauryan kings and as his connection with the family of Odraka is indicated by the Pabhosā record, we are justified in taking him as one of the early Śuṅgas before Odraka, the fifth king of the line. In other words, Khāravela's contemporary Bahasatimita would belong to a period between 188 B.C. and c. 125 B.C. It is true that we do not find the name of Brihaspatimitra in the Śuṅga list. But we have the explanation given in the *Purāṇas* themselves. It is reported there that Pushyamitra made others rule; the *Vāyu* says that he made his 8 sons rule equally, i.e., with equal powers.<sup>9</sup> We know that Agnimitra ruled at Vidiśā with a separate court of his own. Probably the 6th son was ruling in Kōśala as the Śuṅga inscription at Ayōdhyā would suggest.<sup>10</sup> It is significant that Pushyamitra is not called king in this record, but his title *Sēnāpati* is there just as it is in Kālidāsa's *Mālavikāgnimitra*. Similarly the dating on the Bhārhut gate "in the reign of the Śuṅgas" confirms the Purāṇic datum that several sons ruled at the same time (*in different parts*) under Pushyamitra. The *Vāyu-Purāṇa* places in the imperial list (*of Magadha*) the sons of Agnimitra, and not Agnimitra himself, after Pushyamitra. As

<sup>1</sup> *Bom. Gaz.*, Vol. I, Pt. ii, p. 477.

<sup>2</sup> *J. B. O. R. S.*, Vol. XIII, pp. 237, 241; Sachau, Vol. II, pp. 5 to 7.

<sup>3</sup> Act III.

<sup>4</sup> *Cambridge History of India*, Vol. I, p. 525.

<sup>5</sup> *Ante*, Vol. II, p. 242.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.* For *Udraka* as a proper name compare *Divyāvadāna*, p. 392.

<sup>7</sup> *Ante*, p. 243 n. 17.

<sup>8</sup> V. A. Smith, *Catalogue of Coins in the Indian Museum, Calcutta*, Vol. I, p. 155.

<sup>9</sup> *J. B. O. R. S.*, Vol. X, p. 202, Vol. XIII, pp. 247 and 248.

<sup>10</sup> *J. B. O. R. S.*, Vol. XIII, pp. 247, 248 and p. 57 above.



Bṛhaspatimitra is not in the royal list of Magadha between Agnimitra's sons and Odraka, we shall be justified in taking him to a period before Agnimitra's sons succeeded to the Magadha throne, i.e., to the time of Pushyamitra himself.<sup>1</sup>

The most important contribution of the Hāthīgumphā inscription is the synchronism of Khāravela with the Indo-Greek king Demetrios. This important discovery was made in November 1919,<sup>2</sup> and it was settled that after the phrase *Yavana-rāja* comes the name Dīmīta... . Beyond this name not a single succeeding word of the sentence can be read. Demetrios, son of Euthydemos I, is generally well-known as the conqueror of India. It is mentioned in a verse of Chaucer quoted nearly half a century ago by Cunningham. Strabo refers to the fact that the kingdom of Bactria had expanded in a remarkable way beyond its original limits and that the kings responsible for its enlargement were Demetrios and Menander.<sup>3</sup> Beyond this nothing could be said about the Indian conquests of Demetrios before the discovery of the king's name in the Hāthīgumphā record. Justin calls him the king of the Indians. He was probably driven out of Bactria by a rival king named Eukratides and had to settle down in Afghānistān and India. The surest indication of his dominion over some part of India is the use of the Kharōshthī script on some of his copper coins with the use of the title *Aparajita*.<sup>4</sup> Unfortunately we do not know the exact date of Demetrios except through synchronisms. He conducted negotiations between his father Euthydemos I and Antiochus III of Syria and married the latter's daughter. Therefore he must have been a young man towards the close of the third century B.C. His Indian campaigns appear to have been undertaken when he had come to the throne in mature age, and his coins show that he was between 30 and 35 when his reign began.<sup>5</sup> Numismatists distinguish two Demetrioses, taking Demetrios II to be the son of Demetrios I.<sup>6</sup> It would be absurd to say that the Indian conquests of the first dynasty of the Bactro-Greek kings were made by Demetrios II. The Indian campaigns of Demetrios and his advance at Pāṭaliputra are distinctly described in *Yuga-Purāṇa* of the *Gārgī-saṃhitā*. The historical text of the work has been recently collected from different MSS. by KPJ.<sup>7</sup> Section 5 contains the account of the Greek invasion of Pāṭaliputra and a battle at that place. It is stated that after conquering Sākēta, Mathurā and Pañchāla the Greeks reached Kusumadhvaja, and at Pushpapura, i.e., Pāṭaliputra, there was a great battle fought on the mud-embedded western ramparts with engines (ballistae or catapultae), and the outlying districts became full of disorder. Further on (section 7) there is a mention of Demetrios as *Dharmamita* where it is distinctly stated that his officers would oppress the people. Finally it is stated that intoxicated with fighting the Greeks would not stay in the Middle Country and that there would be a furious civil war among themselves in their own country. This statement is corroborated by the Greek accounts of the great civil war in Bactria and Afghānistān between Demetrios and his successors and Eucratides

<sup>1</sup> The objection of Prof. Rapson (*Cambridge History of India*, Vol. I, p. 537, note) that there is an interval of 25 years between Pushyamitra and Odraka, and therefore Āshādhacēna, the maternal uncle of Bahasatimitra, cannot be connected with Bahasatimitra of Pabhosā has not much force in a country where people marry more than one wife at the same time and where maternal uncles are often found to be much younger than their nephews.

<sup>2</sup> It was announced by Sir Edward Gait in his presidential address to the Bihār and Orissa Research Society in 1920 (*J. B. O. R. S.*, Vol. VI, p. 5). The late Rao Bahadur H. Krishna Sastri did not notice this discovery even in 1922-23. Cf. *Annual Report of the Archaeological Survey of India*, 1922-23, p. 130.

<sup>3</sup> *Cambridge History of India*, Vol. I, pp. 444-45.

<sup>4</sup> *Catalogue of the Coins in the Punjab Museum, Lahore*, Vol. I, p. 14, No. 26.

<sup>5</sup> *Cambridge History of India*, Vol. I, Plate III. 3.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 451.

<sup>7</sup> *J. B. O. R. S.*, Vol. XIV, pp. 297-421 and Vol. XV, pp. 129-133.

and the kings of the dynasty founded by him. Therefore his mention in the Hāthigumphā inscription proves definitely that Khāravela must have flourished in the first half of the 2nd century B.C.

The compilation (*upādayati*) of the **Aṅgas** is described in line 16 as the crowning act of glory of Khāravela. This was undertaken and completed in the 13th year. Learned Jainas from all over India were assembled in a conference (*saṅghayanam*), evidently on the Kumārī Hill of sacred associations, and they put together once more the scattered or lost sacred texts of Jainism. The Jaina tradition asserts that in the reign of Chandragupta Maurya a Jaina conference was held at Pāṭaliputra after the 12 years' famine was over but that no agreement could be reached as to the restoration of the texts. Khāravela's wide conquests from the Pāṇḍya country up to the North-Western Frontiers and from the Marāṭhā country up to Magadha and his consequent political influence made it possible for him to have the texts recompiled. That the term 'Aṅga' denotes the Jaina canonical *Aṅgas* is proved by the adjective 'consisting of 64' (*choṣaṭhi*), which is a very difficult and mysterious expression. The Jaina tradition says that 64 letters make up the Jaina sacred literature. The Jainas at present give a mystic interpretation, *vide* Mr. J. L. Jaini in his *Introduction* to the *Jīva-Khaṇḍa* of the *Gommaṭasāra* at p. 12. He says:—"The knowledge of Śruti, Śruta-Jñāna, may be of things which are contained in the Aṅgas (Limbs or sacred books of the Jainas) or of things outside the Aṅgas. There are 64 simple letters of the alphabet. Of these 33 are consonants, 27 vowels and 4 auxiliary (which help in the formation of compound letters). The total number of possible combinations of these 64 simple letters into compounds of 2, 3, 4, or more up to 64 letters is:  $2^{64}-1=1,84,46,74,40,73,70,95,51,615$ .

"These are the letters (simple and compound) of Śruta in its entirety. This number being divided by 16,348,307,888, which is the number of letters in a central foot (*madhyamapāda*) of the Paramāgama (Sacred Jaina Literature), gives us the number of padas of the Aṅgas as 11,283, 58,005. The remainder 80,108,175 gives us the letters of that part of Śruta which is not contained in the Aṅgas. This part is divided into 14 Prakīrṇakas".

In our opinion the Jainas had an alphabet of 64 letters several of which were not actual letters but symbols.

One school of the Jainas maintains that only 11 Aṅgas were recovered after the loss. If we read "*Aṅga-satika-turiyaṃ*" instead of "*Aṅga satika(m) turiyaṃ*" we may get the meaning that the re-compiled Aṅgas were in two groups, *Satika* = *saptika*, group of seven texts, and *Turiya* = *turiya*, a group of four texts. In any case the Jaina tradition about the loss and the recovery of the texts stands confirmed, and here we find another instance of the faithfulness of the Jaina tradition. The monks honoured at the Kumārī Hill in the 13th year were Śvētāmbaras as they were given pieces of China-cloth (silk) (*china-vatāni* = *china-vastrāṇi*)<sup>1</sup> and white robes (*vāsa-sitāni*). Khāravela, by his religious enterprise, was emulating Chandragupta and Aśoka. But posterity has completely forgotten him.

Fortunately the majority of the names of places mentioned in this record can be identified. **Kalīṅganagarī** is the ancient capital. Kalīṅga, a city which has now disappeared, lay close to Kalīṅgapaṭanam, a place on the Bay of Bengal in the Ganjām district of the Madras Presidency. **Kaṣṭha-berinā** is Kṛishṇa-verṇā<sup>2</sup> of the Rāshtrakūṭa period and the modern Kṛishṇā. **Musikā-nagaram** was probably a city on the river Mūsī in its upper reaches near Gōlkonḍa-Hydrābād<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> On the occurrence of *China* in the *Arthasāstra* and its connection with *Shina* the Gilgit tribe see '*Hindu Polity*,' I, 212; cf. Grierson, *Linguistic Survey of India*, Vol. X, pt. 4, p. 5n.

<sup>2</sup> [The *Kaṣṭhapenna* or *Kaṣṭhabanna* of Pāli literature.—Ed.]

<sup>3</sup> The confluence of the *Mūsī* and the *Kṛishṇā* is mentioned in a copper-plate, *ante*, Vol. VI, p. 206. [Muziris on the Malabar coast is suggested as a possible alternative—R. D. B.]

As to the peoples mentioned in the inscription the **Rāṭhikas** are probably the **Mahārāthis** or the people of northern **Mahārāshtra**, i.e., the inhabitants of the modern districts of East **Khāndesh**, **Nāsik**, **Ahmadnagar**, **Poona** and the northern *taluks* of **Sholāpur**; the **Bhojakas** are likely the same as **Mahābhōjas**, i.e., the inhabitants of the **Marāṭhi**-speaking districts of the **Central Provinces** and **Berār**.

The **Tanasuliya** or **Tanasuliya-vāṭa** cannot be identified by us. **Vajiraghara** remained under the same name till the 12th century A.D. when it is mentioned by **Kulōttuṅga Chōḷa I** or the **Chāḷukya-Chōḷa Rājendra Chōḷa II**, as **Vayirāgara** in the **Tiruvorriyūr Ādhipuriśvara** temple inscription of the second year. It states that **Rājakēsarivarman** *alias* **Rājendra Chōḷa II** captured elephants at this place and defeated the king of **Dhārā** at **Chakrakōṭṭa**. In the **Pāṇḍava-Perumāḷ** temple at **Conjeeveram** another **Tamiḷ** inscription of the 5th year of the same king, who is called **Rājakēsarivarman** *alias* **Kulōttuṅga Chōḷa I**, informs us that the king's victories at **Vayirāgara** and **Chakrakōṭṭa** were gained while he was the heir-apparent, i.e., before 8th October 1070 A.D. **Chakrakōṭṭa** has been correctly identified by **Rai Bahadur Hiralal** with **Chakra-Koṭyā** in the **Bastar State** of the **Central Provinces**. It is therefore certain that this **Vayirāgara** is the same as modern **Wairagaḍh** in the **Chanda district** of the same province. **Kielhorn** restored the name **Vayirāgara** as **Vajrākara**.<sup>1</sup> The form **Vajiraghara** in this record shows that the original form was **Vajra-grīha** or **Vajra-gaḍha** in **Prakrit** which came to be written as **Vayirāgaram** in **Tamiḷ**. Both **Chakra-Koṭyā** and **Wairagaḍh** are on the road from **Central Kāliṅga** to **Southern Mālwā**. **Goradhagiri** is no doubt the ancient name of the **Barābar Hills** in the **Gayā district**, as proved by **Mr. V. H. Jackson, I.E.S.**, the late principal of the **Patna College** who, along with **Mr. Russell**, discovered the inscriptions on boulders near the top, giving the name correctly as **Gōrathagiri**.<sup>2</sup> **Mr. Jackson** also described immense fortifications on the hill top.<sup>3</sup> The place was an important outpost on the western flank of the ancient capital of **Magadha**, **Girivraja** or **Rājagriha** or **Rājagaha**. It is mentioned in the **Mahābhārata** where the route of **Bhīma** and **Kṛishṇa** to **Girivraja** is described.<sup>4</sup> **Rājagriha** or **Rājagaha**, the ancient capital of **Magadha**, still exists as **Rājgir**, famous as a **Jaina Tīrtha** and for its hot springs, in the **Bihār sub-division** of the **Patna district** of **Bihār** and **Orissa**.<sup>5</sup> **Madhura** is undoubtedly the northern **Mathurā** in the **United Provinces**. **Bharadhavasa** (Skt. *Bhārutaravasha*) means the plains of **Northern India**. **Pithumḍa** is **Ptolemy's Pitundra**, a city which no longer exists, but which was an important port even in the first century A.D.<sup>6</sup> **Tamira** or **Tramira** is equal to **Draṇiḍa** or **Dramiḍa**, i.e., the **Tamiḷugam** or the **Tamiḷ** speaking districts of the **Madras Presidency** known as **Damirike** to classical writers. **Utarāpadha** is Sanskrit *Uttarāpāṭha* which included our **North-Western Frontier Province**. **Magadha** is south-western **Bihār** consisting of the modern districts of **Patna**, **Gayā** and the north-western **Hazāribāgh**, while **Aṅga** consisted of the portions of the districts of **Bhāgalpur** and **Monghyr** which lie to the south of the **Ganges**, adjoining **Magadha**. The **Paṇḍa-Rāja** of this inscription refers to the kings of the southern extremity of the **Indian Peninsula** from **Madura** to **Cape Comorin**.

We edit the inscription from the rock, the cast in the **Patna Museum** and from impressions taken by us as well as by the **Curator of the Patna Museum**.

<sup>1</sup> *Ante*, Vol. VII, App. pp. 124-25, Nos. 756, 761. See also note 4 on p. 124.

<sup>2</sup> *J. B. O. R. S.*, Vol. I, p. 159.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, Vol. III, p. 469.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, Vol. I, pp. 160 and 161.

<sup>5</sup> For the antiquities of **Rājgir** see **Marshall's** account in the *Annual Report of the Archaeological Survey of India*, 1905-06, Part II, pp. 86 ff.

<sup>6</sup> *J. B. O. R. S.*, Vol. XIV, p. 151.

TEXT.<sup>1</sup>

- 1 [Two symbols] **Namo** Ar[i]hamtānam[\*] **Namo** sava-Silhānam[\*] **Aire .a<sup>3</sup>** Ma  
hārājena **Māhameghavāhanena<sup>4</sup>** **Cheti-rāja-vasa<sup>5</sup>-vadhanena** pasatha-subha  
lakkhanena chaturamta-luṭhita-guṇ-opalutena **Kaliṅg-ādhipatinā<sup>6</sup>** siri-Khāra-  
velena
- 2 paṇḍarasa-vasāni siri-kaḍāra-sarīra<sup>7</sup>vatā kiḍitā kumāra-kiḷikā[\*] Tato  
lekha<sup>8</sup>-rūpa<sup>9</sup>-gaṇanā<sup>10</sup>-vavahāra<sup>11</sup>-vidhi<sup>12</sup>-visāradena sava-vijāvalātēna nava-vasāni  
Yovaraja[m]<sup>13</sup> pasāsita[m] [\*] Sampuṇa-chatu-vīsati-vaso tadāni vadhamāna<sup>14</sup>.  
sesayo **Ven-ābhivijayo<sup>15</sup>** tatiye
- 3 **Kaliṅga<sup>16</sup>-rāja-va[m]se** purisa-yuge Māhārāj-ābhisechanam<sup>17</sup> pūpunāti[\*] Abhi-  
sita-mato cha padhame<sup>18</sup> vase[\*] vāta-vihita-gopura-pākīra-nivesanam paṭi-  
samikhārayati[\*] **Kaliṅga<sup>19</sup>-nagari-Khibīra-isi-tāla<sup>20</sup>-taḷḷa-ga-pāḍiyo<sup>21</sup>** cha bam-  
dhāpayati[\*] sav-uyāna-pa[ti]samthapanam cha
- 4 kārayati panatīsāhi sata-sahasēhi Pakatiyo cha ramjaya[ti] [\*] Dutīye cha  
vase achitayitā **Sātakaṇṇim<sup>22</sup>** pachhima-disam haya-gaja nata-radha-bahulam  
damḍam pathāpavati[\*] **Kaṇha-beruṇṇā<sup>23</sup>-gatāya** cha senāya vitāsita[m]  
**M[u]sika-ragaram<sup>24</sup>** [\*] Tatiye puna vase
- 5 gaṇḍhava-veda-budho dapa-nata-gīta-vāḍita-saṇḍamsanāhi usava-samāja-kārā-  
panāhi cha kiḷāpayati nagarim [\*] Tathā chavuthe vase **Vijāḍhar-  
ādhivāsam** ahata-puṇam Kaliṅga-puṇa<sup>25</sup>-rāja-[nivesita[m]] . . . . .  
vitadha-ma[ku]ṭṭa-sabilama[ḍh]ite cha nikhita-chhata-
- 6 bhiṃgūre hita-ratana-sāpateye sava-**Raṭhika-Bhojake<sup>26</sup>** pāde vaṇḍāpavati[\*]  
Paṇchame cha dāni vase **Narṇda-rāja<sup>27</sup>-ti-vasa-sata-oghātita[m] Tanasuliya-  
vātā** paṇāḍim Nagaram pavesa[ya]ti [\*] So . . . . bhisito cha Rāja-s<sup>28</sup>.  
[u]ya[m] saṇḍasayamto sava-kara-vaṇam
- 7 anugaha-anekāni sata-sahasāni visajati Poram Jānapadam[\*] Sātama[m] cha  
vasam pasāsato **Vajiraghara-vati-ghusita-gharini** sa matuka-pada-puṇna . .  
[ku]ma . . . . . [\*] Aṭhame cha vase mahatā sen[ā] . . . . .  
**Goradhagirim**
- 8 ghātāpayitā **Rājagaham** upapīḍāpayati[\*] Etin[ā] cha kaṇṇapadāna-sa[m]-  
nādena<sup>29</sup> samb[i]ṭa-sena-vāhane vipamu<sup>30</sup>[m]chitu **Madhuram** apayāto **Ya-  
vana-rāj[ā] D[i]mi[ta]<sup>31</sup>** . . . . . yachhati . . . . . palava . .
- 9 kapa-rukhe haya-gaja-radha-saha-yaṇte sava-ghar-āvāsa-parivasane agiṇathiyā<sup>32</sup>  
sava-gahanam cha kārayitum Baṇhaṇānam jātim parihāram dadāti[\*]  
Arahato [va ?] . . . . . [gi]ya[to]
- 10 . . . k.i. māna[ti]rāja-saṇnivāsam **Mahāvijayam** pāsādam kārayati aṭha-  
tisāya sata-sahasēhi[\*] Dasame cha vase damḍa-saṇḍhī-sā[ma]-mayo **Bha-  
radhava-sa-pathānam** mah[i]-jayanam . . . . . kārapayati . . . . .  
p[ā]jyātānam cha man[i]-ratnāni upalabhate
- 11 [mamdam] cha **Ava<sup>33</sup>-rāja-nivesita[m] Pithumḍam<sup>34</sup>** gadabha-namgalena kasa-  
yati janasa dabhāvanam(a) cha terasa vasa-satikam ābhi[m]dati T[r]amira<sup>35</sup>.  
**desha-saṇghātam** [\*] Bārasame cha vase . . . . . hasa ke [saha]-  
sehi vitāsayati **Utarāpadha-rājāno** . . . . .

(a) [The reading seems to be janapada-bhāvanam.—Ed.]

- 12 M[a]gadhānam cha vipulam bhayam janeto hathi Sugamgiya[m] pāya-  
yati [\*] M[āga]dha[m]<sup>36</sup> cha rājānam Baha[sa]timitam<sup>37</sup> pāde vamdā-  
payati[\*] **Namda-rāja-nītam** cha **Kā[li]mga-Jinam**<sup>38</sup> samnive[sa] . . . . .  
[gaha]-rata[nā]na[m] paḍihārehi<sup>39</sup> **Amga-Magadha**<sup>40</sup>-vasum cha neyāti[\*]  
13 . . . . . katu[m] jaṭhara-l[i]khila barāni siharāni nivesayati sata-  
visikanam<sup>41</sup> [pa]rihārehi[\*] Abhutam=achhariyam cha hathi-nivā[sa]-pari-  
saram<sup>42</sup> . . . . . haya-hathī-ratanā-[mānikam] **Pamḍa**<sup>43</sup>-rājā [ch=edāni anekāni]  
m[u]ta-maṇi-ratanāni āharāpayati idha sa t[a].  
14 . . . . . sino vasikaroti[\*] Terasame cha vase supavata-  
vijaya-chaka-Kumārī-pavate arahayate pa-khiṇa-sam[si]<sup>44</sup>tehi **kāya-nisīdiyāya**  
yāpa-nāvakehi<sup>45</sup> rāja-bhitini china-vatāni vās[ā]-s[i]tāni<sup>46</sup> [\*] pūj-ānurata-  
uvās[aga-Khā]ravela<sup>47</sup>-sirinā jīva-deha-[siri]kā parikhitā  
15 . . . . . sukat[ā]-samaṇa-suvhitānam cha sata-disānam ṇan[i]nam  
tapas[i]-is[i]nam samghayanam<sup>48</sup>[\*] **Arahata-nisīdiyā** samīpe pābhāre var-ā-  
kāra-samuthāpitāhi aneka-yojan-āhitāhi pa si. o. . . . . silāhi **Simha-**  
**patha-rañi-Si[m]dhulāya**<sup>49</sup> nisayāni  
16 . . . . . Paṭalako chaturo cha veḍūriya-gabhe thambe patiṭhā-  
payati[\*] pānatariya sata-sahase<sup>50</sup>[hi][\*] **Muriya-kāla-vochhinam** cha  
choyath[i] **Amga-satika[m]** turiyam upādayati[\*] Khema-rājā sa Vadha-  
rājā sa Bhikhu-rājā Dhama-rājā pasamt[o] sunat[o] anubhavat[o] kalā-  
pāni  
17 . . . . . guṇa-visesa-kusalo sava-pāsaṇḍa-pūjako sava-de[r-āya]tana-  
samkhāra-kārako [a]patihata-chaki-vāhini-balo chaka-dhura-guta-chako pavata-  
chako **rājasi-Vasū-kula**<sup>51</sup>-vinisrito<sup>52</sup> mahā-vijayo **Rājā-Khāravola-siri**[\*]  
[Symbol].

## NOTES ON THE TEXT.

1. For facsimile plates see *J. B. O. R. S.*, Vols. III, IV and XIII.
2. [The reading *Arī*° was corrected from *Arā*° after Mr. Banerji's death, with the help of Muni Jinavijaya.—K. P. J.]
3. *Airena* is the equivalent of *Ailena*, meaning a descendant of Ila or Ilā, father or mother of Purūravas. The same title is also to be found in the Mañchapuri Cave inscription of Kūde-pasiri.<sup>1</sup> For the change of *l* into *r* see *T[r]amira* in line 11 below. [In connection with this title the description in the last line **rājasi-Vasū-kula-vinīsrito** may be noted. The Purāṇic tradition of *Rājarsī* as well as of the Aiḷa dynasty was thus well-established before *Khāravola*'s time.—K. P. J.]
4. *Māhāmēghavāhana*.—Probably the reading in the Mañchapuri inscription is also *Māhā-mēghavāhana* and not *Mahāmēghavāhana*. The long vowel over the first syllable *Mā*° is quite clear in this inscription. The increase in the strength of the vowel indicates that King *Khāravola* was a descendant of *Mahāmēghavāhana*, who might have been the recent founder of the dynasty.
5. *Cheti-rāja-vasa*.—Evidently *Cheti* is the same as *Chēdi*.<sup>2</sup> The later *Chēdis*, *Kaḷachuris* or *Haihayas* of *Dābhāla* or *Dāhala* were in occupation of modern Baghelkhand and Chhattisgaḍh in the mediæval period. Before that in the 7th century the *Kaḷachuris* *Saṅkaragūḍa* and *Bud-dharāja* were in possession of *Mālwa* and the Northern *Mahārāṣṭra* until their conquest by the early *Chālukyas* of *Bādāmi*. The Buddhist books mention *Chēti* as one of the sixteen great king-doms or nations of Northern India.<sup>3</sup> In the dynastic lists given in the *Purāṇas*, the *Haihayas*

<sup>1</sup> *Ante*, Vol. XIII, p. 100.<sup>2</sup> Cf. Konow, *Acta Orientalia*, Vol. I, p. 38.<sup>3</sup> Rhys Davids, *Cambridge History of India*, Vol. I, p. 172.

are a branch of the Yādavas.<sup>1</sup> The origin of the Chēdis is thus stated by Pargiter: Vīdarbhā of the Yādava clan had three sons named Bhīma Kratha, Kaiśika and Lōmapāda. Kaiśika's son Chidi founded the dynasty of Chaidya kings in Chēdi.<sup>2</sup> From Chidi the name of the clan as well as that of the country became Chēdi. In the Buddhist books Chēti is placed between Malia and Vaṃsa indicating that the kingdom lay close to Kauśāmbī in the Allahābād district, and it is very likely that modern Baghelkhand was originally called Chēdi. [Vasu, from whose line Khāravela's family descended (l. 17) was, however, not a Chaidya but the conqueror of the Chēdi country. He was fifth in descent from Kuru who was the 72nd Aīla (J. R. A. S., 1910, pp. 22, 26-29). The Jaina *Harivamśa-Purāṇa* also includes Vasu in the Aīlēja list and as the son of the founder of Chēdi-rāṣṭra in the Vindhyas (J. B. O. R. S., Vol. XV, p. 277).—K. P. J.]

6. *Kaliṅg-ādhipatinā*.—The term Kaliṅga is usually applied to the northern part of the Telugu-speaking districts of the Madras Presidency. In the *Purāṇas*, Kaliṅga is associated with Aṅga (south-eastern Bihār), Vaṅga (eastern Bengal), Puṇḍra (northern Bengal) and Suhma (south-western Bengal). The names of these five countries were given according to the names of the five sons of Bali,<sup>3</sup> i.e., the tradition treats the kingdoms to be early Aryan conquests and states. In the *Vāyu* and the *Brahmāṇḍa-Purāṇas*, Kaliṅga is associated with the Mahisha country<sup>4</sup> (later Māhishmatī, modern Mahesor in the Indore State on the river Narmadā). This text would indicate that Utkala was included in Kaliṅga in the time of Khāravela and the later name Oḍra had not come into existence. The Purāṇic texts further indicate that the term Utkala was applied in early times to the hilly country between Gayā and Orissa, i.e., modern Chhoṭā Nāgpur and the Garhjat States. "The Saudyumnas had been almost overwhelmed by the Ānavas and Pauravas, and were restricted to the Utkalas and other clans which occupied the hilly tracts from Gayā to Orissa."<sup>5</sup> The transfer of the term Utkala to the plain country along the sea-board is therefore later.

7. *Siri-kaḍāra-sarīra-vaṭā*.—*Kaḍāra* means reddish fair, according to *Amara*, and a slave according to the *Mēdinī*. If it is a Prakrit derivation from *kaṭāra*, then it means "nāgarah or kāmīn," according to the *Śabdamaṇī* (*Vāchaspatyam*). The explanation given in the *Amara-kōsha* is more suitable as meaning "of beautiful reddish body."

8. *Lekha* or Royal Correspondence, a manual of which was written in the time of the Chālukyas of Aṇahilapāṭaṇa and has been published from Baroda.<sup>6</sup> This *lekha* cannot refer to the art of writing. The subject is dealt with in the *Arthaśāstra* of Kauṭilya.<sup>7</sup>

9. *Rūpa* must be the equivalent of *rūpya* meaning currency. In the present inscription the position of the word *rūpa* shows that the meaning cannot be anything else.<sup>8</sup> The exact meaning of the term is made clear by the explanation of Buddhaghōṣa on a passage of the *Mahāvagga*. The term is explained thus: "he who learns the *rūpa-sūtra* must turn over and over many *Kārshāpaṇas*."<sup>9</sup> Finally, the term *rūpa-darśaka* in the *Arthaśāstra* translated as "Examiner of Coins" shows that the term *rūpa* was used in cases as in the present inscription with

<sup>1</sup> Pargiter, *Ancient Indian Historical Tradition*, p. 102.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 272.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 109.

<sup>4</sup> Pargiter, *Dynasties of the Kali Age*, p. 54.

<sup>5</sup> Pargiter, *Ancient Indian Historical Tradition*, p. 292.

<sup>6</sup> *Lekha-paddhati*, Gaekwad's Oriental Series, p. 58.

<sup>7</sup> Mysore edn. (1919), pp. 70-75.

<sup>8</sup> It is impossible to imagine that the prince learned acting. We can compare the word *lupadake* in the Jogimārā cave inscription where also it may mean a currency officer. The term is also taken to mean a City-Magistrate who could recognise offenders at a glance. *Annual Report of the Archaeological Survey of India*, 1903-04, pp. 128-30. *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XLVIII, p. 131.

<sup>9</sup> *S. B. E.*, Vol. XIII, p. 201 note.

reference to currency. The term did not refer to silver currency alone but to other metals also, as we find the term *lāmra-rūpa* in the *Arthaśāstra*.<sup>1</sup>

10. *Gaṇanā*.—This term occurs in the *Arthaśāstra* and has been translated as Accountancy. An entire chapter has been devoted to it there and the subject is explained in detail. It is certain that this term could not have been used for elementary mathematics in this inscription as supposed by Bühler. Knowledge of *lēkha*, *rūpa*, and *gaṇanā* is here coupled with that of law and learning and refers to a post-boyhood period.

11. *Vavahāra*.—*Vyavahāra* meaning Civil Law or Municipal Law as opposed to—

12. *Vidhi* or Religious Law which is mentioned in Sanskrit legal literature as positive injunctions.

13. *Yovarajaṁ*=*Yauvarājyam*.—*Yōvarajaṁ* shows the shortening of the internal medial vowel in the second member and the graphic lightening of double consonant, as in the case of *Māhārāja*<sup>o</sup> (l. 3), *rañi* (l. 15), etc.

14. *vaḍhamāna-sesayo*.—Though the incision of these two words is perfectly clear they cannot be satisfactorily explained by us. The equation *vaḍhamāna-saiśavō* is not quite satisfactory as a change of *v* into *y* is not to be had anywhere else in this record. The meaning proposed in the translation is adopted for want of a better one. There may be a pun intended by the use of the word *vaḍhamāna* which is the early name of the last Tirthaṅkara. The verb *pāpunaṭi*=*prāpnōti* shows that the sentence is in the active voice and complete by itself. After this line the forms are generally causative.

15. *Ven-ābhiviṣayo*.—The reading is perfectly clear. The ancient monarch *Vēna*, father of *Prithu*, was an unorthodox king according to Brāhmanical literature. According to the *Padma-Purāṇa* he began his reign well but subsequently became a Jain. He abolished the law of levirate (*niyōga*) and caused a confusion or abolition of castes, according to *Manu*.<sup>2</sup> *Vēna* was a great conqueror and therefore the term *abhiviṣaya* is very appropriate in his case. Evidently the tradition recorded in the *Padma-Purāṇa* was well-established in the time of *Khāravela* and therefore the Jain monarch is compared to *Vēna*.

16. *Kaliṅga-rāja-va[m]se*.—In the third line the details about *Khāravela*'s ancestry are made clear. He was born in the royal line of *Chēti* and was the overlord of *Kaliṅga*, but the dynasty to which he belonged was the 3rd dynasty of the kings of *Kaliṅga*. This dynasty was one of the *Aiḷa* dynasties settled in Central and Southern India. The name *Khāravela* (probably, 'one whose waves are brackish'=the Ocean) is unusual, and so is the name of the other king of the dynasty, viz., *Kūḍepa* (*Mañchapurī* inscription). *Khāravela* is described to be an *Aiḷa* or *Aiḷa*, that is, of the Lunar House as opposed to the Solar. *Parṣiter* holds that the kings of the *Aiḷa* stock held the Ganges and the Jumna valleys from the Siwālik Hills to *Magadha*, the country between the *Rājputāna* desert and the *Beṭār*, with the *Pañjāb* and *Peshāwar* in the north and East *Bibār* and *Bengal* proper in the east. The town and country of *Vidarbha* is generally recognised to be the modern *Beṭār*.

17. *Māhārāj-ābhisechanam*.—The regular *abhishēka* of a *Chakravartin* Monarch (called the *Aindra-mahābhishēka* in the *Satapatha* and *Aitarēya Brāhmaṇas*).<sup>3</sup>

18. *Padhame*.—In this dialect *tha* becomes *dha* in the majority of cases, e.g., *Goradha*=*Goratha*, *radha*=*ratha*, *Bharadhavasa*=*Bharathavasa* and *Madhuram* for *Muthuram*. The change is well-known and probably it is an influence of Dravidian origin.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Text p. 84, Engl. trans., p. 95. (Dr. Shamasastri's edition.)

<sup>2</sup> *Mānavadharmasāstra*, Ch. IX, vv. 66-67.

<sup>3</sup> *Jayaswal, Hindu Polity*, Pt. ii, p. 27.

<sup>4</sup> This peculiarity is found in *Jaina-Saurasēnī*, *Saurasēnī*, *Māgadhī* and *Dhakkī*. See *Pischel, Gramma-der Prākṛit Sprachen*, para. 203.—Ed.]

19. *Kaliṅga-naṅari*.—The capital of the Kaliṅga country, very likely now represented by Kaliṅgapatanam in the Ganjām district. The ancient capital of Kaliṅga, according to the tradition prevalent in the Chicacole *taluk* of the Ganjām district, was swallowed up by the sea. Fragments of bas-reliefs of the Maurya period with the well-known protuberance on the head-dress have been, however, discovered by RDB. in the temples of Mukhalīṅgēśvara and Kūrinēśvara in the locality. The coast from Chhatrapuram to Masulipatam is subject to great cyclones during the north-eastern monsoon and the majority of ancient sites on this coast are buried in drift sand.

20. *Khibira-isi-tāla*.—We have examined these two words very carefully on the rock, estampages and casts. The reading is perfectly clear but no explanation seems to be possible unless Khibira is taken to be a proper name of a Rishi who excavated the tank or lake or after whom it was named. In that case, the phrase will have to be taken as referring to a particular tank while *taṭāṅga* and *pūṭiyo* will refer to artificial excavations.

21. *Pūṭiyo*=Śkt. *Pūṭi*.—Perhaps the same as the *Polhuya* of Western India, cf. *Pāṇḍulēṇa* cave No. 10, inscription No. 10, l. 3.<sup>1</sup>

22. *Sātakaṁṇim*.—Evidently Śrī Śātakarṇi, the third king of the Sātavāhana dynasty, the husband of queen Nāvanikā of the Nānāghāt inscriptions in the Junnar *taluk* of the Poona district.<sup>2</sup> [As to the Śātakarṇi whose architect Vāsēthiputra Ananda gave a *tōraṇa* to *stūpa* No. I at Sāñchi see *J. B. O. R. S.*, XVI, p. 254.—K. P. J.]

23. *Kaṇha-benṇā*—the Sanskrit Kṛishṇavēṇī or the modern Kṛishṇā which rises near Dhom in the Sātārā district. The river flows through the Sātārā, Belgaum and Bijāpur districts and the Kolhāpur and Hyderābād States into the Bay of Bengal through the Kṛishṇā district of the Madras Presidency. It forms the boundary of the Nizam's State from Alampur near Karnūl to Nandigāma in the Kistna district. The rise of the Kṛishṇā and its particular sanctity are described in the *Pātāla-khaṇḍa* of the *Podmapurāṇa*.<sup>3</sup> The earliest epigraphical reference is to be found in this inscription and the second in the Nāsik inscription in cave No. 10 of the Pāṇḍulēṇa group where it is called *Karabeṇā*.<sup>4</sup> In mediæval inscriptions it is called *Kṛishṇa-Vērṇā*.<sup>5</sup> There is no doubt about the fact that Khāravela reached the Kṛishṇā somewhere in the long and erratic course of that river. It is possible that he went westwards because the term *pachhima-disaṁ* is expressly mentioned. But it is uncertain as to where he reached the Kṛishṇā.

24. *Musika-nagara*.—The Mūshikas are a people of Southern India as in the *Mahābhārata* they are mentioned along with the Vanavāsas.<sup>6</sup> In the *Nāṭya-śāstra* of Bharata they are probably coupled with the *Tōśalas* and the *Kōśalas* under the name *Mōśalas*.<sup>7</sup> In the *Vishṇu-Purāṇa* the Mūsika country comes with the *Strī-rājya*. According to the commentary *Jaya-maṅgalā* on the *Kāmasūtra* of Vātsyāyana, the latter was a kingdom in the western part of the Vindhya country.<sup>8</sup> There is a river Mūsī which joins the Kṛishṇā about the Naigonda and the Kṛishṇā districts. It is mentioned under the same name in the inscription of the Rāshṭrakūṭa

<sup>1</sup> *Ante*, Vol. VIII, p. 78.

<sup>2</sup> *J. B. O. R. S.*, Vol. III, plate 3. As to the letter-form of this inscription reference may be made to the *Palæography of the Hathigumpha and Nanaghat Inscriptions*, *Memoirs A. S. B.*, Vol. X, pp. 131 ff. RDB. has proved elsewhere that later and earlier forms of the character used in an inscription depend in the first place on locality.

<sup>3</sup> Ānandāśrama edition (1894), pt. 4, VI, 113, p. 1467.

<sup>4</sup> *Ante*, Vol. VIII, p. 78.

<sup>5</sup> *Ante*, Vol. VI, p. 211.

<sup>6</sup> *Bhishma-parvan*, Ch. IX.

<sup>7</sup> XIII, 27. (*Kāvya-mālā* edition, p. 148.)

<sup>8</sup> *Sub. Kāma-sūtra*, II, 5, 27.



Gōvinda II of the Śaka year 692=769 A.D.<sup>1</sup> It is quite probable that the Musika city stood on this river.<sup>2</sup>

25. *Kalin̄ga-puṇa-rāja*.—The reading is absolutely certain and the phrase should be read with reference to *tatiye Kalin̄ga-rāja-vaṁse*.

26. *Raṭhika-Bhojake* stand for the Mahārathis and Mahābhojas of Sātavāhana inscriptions and the minor inscriptions of the same period at Kānhēri, Kuḍā and Bēḷsā. The Raṭhikas are mentioned as *Risṭikas* in the Girnār, *Raṭhikas* in the Shāhbāzgarhī and *Raṭhakas* in the Mānsēhrā version of the 5th edict of Aśoka. The Dhauli version supplies the analogous form in *Laṭhika*. In the 13th edict we find the *Bhojakas* mentioned with the *Pitinakas* in Shāhbāzgarhī, Mānsēhrā and Kālsī versions. In the Kānhēri cave inscription of the time of Viṇhukaḍa Chuṭukulānanda a Mahābhoja is also called a *Mahārāja* showing that Bhoja probably was a title. Mahābhojas or Mahābhojis are mentioned in five votive inscriptions in the Kuḍā cave. In later periods a Bhojaka is mentioned in the copper-plate inscription of the Pallava king Śivaskandavarman.<sup>3</sup>

27. *Nanda-rāja*.—King Nanda is mentioned in two places in this inscription, once in l. 6 and again in l. 12. The date in this line apparently refers to an era founded by King Nanda.<sup>4</sup> His mention in connection with Magadha fixes his identity with the Magadhan Nanda dynasty.

28. *Rājasūyam*.—The reading is perfectly clear on the rock.

29. *samādāna*.—The form of the first letter seems to be a *sa* of the same type as that which we find in *Bahasamīṭam* in l. 12.

30. *vipamuchitu*.—It seems more probable that the reading is *vipamu*[m?] *chitu* not *vipamu-chitum*.

31. *Yavana-rāja-Dimita*.—The word *Yavana-rāja* was read by KPJ. for the first time in 1919. After that the second syllable of the proper name is distinct. The first and the third can be read with great difficulty. KPJ. proposed to read the first syllable as *Di* but RDB. proposed that it is *Di* in which the broad back of the letter is turned towards the right and not the left. In Aśoka's inscriptions both varieties are found but in this inscription the other variety, with the broad back to the proper left, is used in all other cases. The Greek King Demetrios calls himself Dime[tra] in his Kharōshthī coin legends.<sup>5</sup>

32. *agīnathiyā*.—The reading is certain and legible on the rock only. The decay of the stone makes good impressions impossible. Both of us have examined the place carefully and repeatedly. The meaning of the term is also uncertain. It may mean some form of Vedic sacrifice and the original form in Sanskrit might have been *Agn-ishṭi*. What had been read as *sa* before this word is uncertain.

33. *Ava-rāja* was previously read as *pūva-rāja*. It appears that that particular form of *a* in which the left lower curve is much shorter than the upper is also used in this inscription. Therefore the shorter arm of the long *u* may be taken to be the lower left curve of *a*. *Ava* as a dynasty is given by the *Bhāgavata-Purāṇa*, and the *Vishṇu* equates it with the Āndhras. Ptolemy

<sup>1</sup> *Ante*, Vol. VI, pp. 208-13.

<sup>2</sup> I am of opinion that Khāravela reached the Mahārāshtra country and touched the river Krishnā near its source where it flows directly north to south instead of touching it at any other place, because to reach the Krishnā at any other place he would have had to travel almost due south instead of west. Moreover, I put more reliance on the *Mahābhārata* than on any of the later texts. As the Mūsikas are coupled with the Vanavāsikas it is more probable that they lived on the western coast below Banavāsi (Sirsi taluk of the North Kanara district of Bombay). In my opinion Muziris, a famous port on the western coast, should be identified with Musikanagara of this inscription. (Rt. D. B.) [See *J. R. A. S.*, 1922, pp. 165 ff., and *Ind. Ant.*, 1923, p. 138.—Ed.]

<sup>3</sup> See also *Hindu Polity*, Pt. i, pp. 143, 195.

<sup>4</sup> See *J. B. O. R. S.*, Vol. XIII, p. 237.

<sup>5</sup> *Catalogue of the Coins in the Panjab Museum, Lahore*, Vol. I, p. 14, No. 26.

mentions a people called *Avarni* or *Aruarni* near the Kṛishṇā. It is quite possible that the city of Pithumṇa mentioned by Ptolemy as Pitundra (*Ind. Ant.*, Vol. LV, p. 145), was founded by these people (*J. B. O. R. S.*, Vol. XIV, pp. 15 f.).

34. *Pithumṇa*.—According to Ptolemy, a city in the upper part of the Coromandal coast. This city has perhaps to be taken as the capital of the Ava or Avarni.

35. *Tramira* or *Tamira* is the equivalent of *Tamila* just as *Aira* represents *Aiḷa*. It has been pointed out that *Tamil* is the origin of *Draviḍa* and of *Dramila*.<sup>1</sup> *Tramila* would thus be a perfectly correct substitute for *Dramila*.

36. *Māgadham*.—We have examined the rock very carefully. The cast of the inscription in the Patna Museum shows that the word cannot be *Mariya* as proposed by Dr. F. W. Thomas.<sup>2</sup> The chisel-cuts of the letters are still clear though the decay of the rock surface has made impressions of this part of the inscription smudged.

37. *Bahasatimitam*.—The *sa* in the word is of the later 2nd century B.C. type in which a clear right-angle has been formed in the right limb of the letter and therefore it looks more like *pa* than *sa*. The reading is absolutely certain.

38. *Kāliṅga-Jina* perhaps means Śīṭalanātha who was born at Bhadalapura, which is the same as Bhadrapura<sup>3</sup> or Bhadrāchalam in the Gōḍāvari district of the Madras Presidency.

39. *paḍihārehi* stands for *pratihāraih*.—The *ḍa* denotes its difference from *parihāra* in l. 9.

40. *Aṅga-Magadha*.—The mention of these two provinces indicates that the campaign of the 12th year was specially directed against South Bihār which now includes the ancient provinces of Aṅga (Bhāgalpur and Monghyr districts) and Magadha (Patna, Gayā and part of Hazāribāgh districts).

41. *sata-visikanam*.—The reading is not doubtful though it was read slightly differently before. The reference seems to be to architects (*vaiśmikas*).

42. *hathi-nivāsa-parisaram*.—This reading of the second word of the phrase is more reliable than the previous one (*hathi-nāvana-paripuram*). *nivāsa*=*nirvāsa*.<sup>4</sup> The reference seems to be to elephant preserves or some original form of *kheḍā* arrangement, invented by Khāravela. The elephants of Kāliṅga were very famous in ancient India. The strength of Khāravela probably lay in elephants. He took the fort of Pāṭaliputra with the help of elephants.

43. *Pamḍa-rājā*.—For the form cf. *rañi* in l. 15. The Sanskritized version of the name of the great Dravidian clan is Pāṇḍya and is derived from Pāṇḍu by a special rule of early grammarians. In the inscriptions of Aśoka also the vowel in the first syllable is long.

44. *Pa-khiṇa-samsāhehi*.—The reading seems to be tolerably certain on the rock, though it looks doubtful in the impressions. *Pa-khiṇa*=*prakṣhīṇa*, *samsit*<sup>5</sup>=*samsru*<sup>5</sup>.

45. *Yāpa-ñavakehi*.—The first part of the compound cannot be satisfactorily explained by us though the reading is absolutely certain.<sup>5</sup>

46. *vāsā-sitāni*.—The medial vowels except that on the first syllable are somewhat uncertain. It may also be taken to be *-satāni*. It was previously read as *vasāsītāni*.

47. *Uvāsaga-Khāravela* previously read as *Uvāsa-Khāravela*. The *gā* and *kha* are indistinct.

48. *saṃghayanam*.—The reading is certain except of the vowel value on *gh*. Certain improvements have been effected, e.g., *ñaninam* which makes the purport of this term fairly certain.

<sup>1</sup> *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XLIII, p. 64.

<sup>2</sup> *J. R. A. S.*, 1922, p. 84.

<sup>3</sup> *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. II, p. 136.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. *Kāmandakīya-nīṭisāra*, XV, 7.

<sup>5</sup> [See Muni Puṇyavijaya, 'Anekānta' (Delhi), Vol. I, p. 142, where he cites Jaina texts on 'yāpa' ('religious life')] —K. P. J.]

49. *Simdhulāya*.—The recognition of the cerebral *la* is due to a suggestion of Prof. H. Lüders. In other cases the cerebral *la* is changed into *ra* in the dialect used in this inscription.

50. *sata-sahasehi*.—This reading was fully established by us when we examined the rock jointly in November 1919. This reading along with the reading of the passage *Aṃga*°, etc. brings to a close the long controversy about the existence of a date in the Maurya era in this inscription.

51. [The reading *Rājasi-Vasū-kula*° has been corrected by me (from *-vasa-kula*) after Mr. Banerji's death. King *Vasu* of *Chēdi* is known to the *Purāṇas* (see *J. R. A. S.*, 1910, p. 22; *MBh.*, I. ch. 3). *Cheti-rā* a° in l. 1 refers to King *V. su*. The inscription here confirms the *Purāṇic* genealogy. The *Jaina Harivaṃśa Purāṇa* also gives *Vasu* in the *Chēdi* list (Ch. VII) and as an *Aliēva*. *J. B. O. R. S.*, Vol. XV, p. 277.—K. P. J.]

52. *vinisrito*.—This is the only instance of the use of the palatal *śa* in this record. The form is certain both on the rock and impressions.

#### TRANSLATION.

(Line 1) Salutation to the Arhats (*Arihats*=lit. 'Conquerors of Enemies,' i.e., Jinas). Salutation to all the Siddhas. By illustrious *Khāravela*, the *Aira* (*Aiḷa*), the Great King, the descendant of *Mahāmāghavāhana*, the increaser (of the glory) of the *Cheti* (*Chēdi*) dynasty, (endowed) with excellent and auspicious marks and features, possessed of virtues which have reached (the ends of) the four quarters, overlord<sup>1</sup> of *Kaliṅga*,

(L. 2) for fifteen years, with a body ruddy and handsome were played youthsomeness sports; after that (by him who) had mastered (royal) correspondence, currency, finance, civil and religious laws (and) who had become well-versed in all (branches) of learning, for nine years (the office of) *Yuvarāja*<sup>2</sup> (heir apparent) was administered. Having completed the twenty-fourth year,<sup>3</sup> at that time, (he) who had been prosperous (*vardhamāna*) since his infancy (?) and who (was destined) to have wide conquests as those of *Vena*,

(L. 3) then in the state of manhood,<sup>4</sup> obtains the imperial (*māhārājya*) coronation in the dynasty of *Kaliṅga*. As soon as he is anointed, in the first (regnal) year (he) causes repairs of the gates, the walls and the buildings (of the city), (which had been) damaged by storm; in the city of *Kaliṅga* (he) causes the erection of the embankments of the lake (called after) *Khibīra Rishi*, (and) of (other) tanks and cisterns, (also) the restoration of all the gardens (he) causes to be

(L. 4) done at (the cost of) thirty-five-hundred-thousands,<sup>5</sup> and (he) gratifies the People. And in the second year (he), disregarding *Sātakaṃni*, despatches to the western regions an

<sup>1</sup> In *Kaliṅg-adhipati*, *adhipati* like *adhirāja* of the inscriptions, would literally denote an 'overlord.' The chief queen of *Khāravela* in the *Mañchapuri* record calls her husband a *Kaliṅga* emperor (*Kaliṅga-chakavati*). In our record he is expressly described as belonging to the *Kaliṅga* dynasty. The expression 'overlord' would not indicate that he was the overlord of *Kaliṅga*, but an overlord or an emperor belonging to *Kaliṅga*.

<sup>2</sup> A member of the ministry (*Hindu Polity*, Pt. II, pp. 124, 136). According to the *Divyāvadāna*, *Samprati*, grandson of *Aśoka*, was the *yuvarāja*, while his father *Kuṇāla* was a viceroy at *Takṣaśilā*. *Yuvarāja* was generally, but not necessarily, the Crown Prince.

<sup>3</sup> Evidently the throne had been vacant and *Khāravela* ascended it after completing his 24th year. According to the *Bṛihaspati-sūtra*, for a prince playing and learning were enjoined up to the 25th year and after that age, politics.

<sup>4</sup> *Purisa-yuge*.—This has a reference to the 25th year, see the note above.

<sup>5</sup> The meaning given above is in consonance with the use of similar figures in lines 10 and 16 (*Mahāvijayaṃ pāsādam kārṇayati athasāyā sata-sahasehi*, and *pānatariya*, etc.). The instrumental case before *pakatiyo* may equally be taken to denote the number of the subjects (see *Siddhāntakāumudī* of *Bhaṭṭoji Dikṣita* on *Pāṇini*, II, 3, 23, and II, 3, 46). RDB. would connect the figure with the sentence beginning with *pakatiyo* in the sense that by the expenditure indicated by the figure the king pleased his subjects (see *J. B. O. R. S.*, Vol. IV, p. 315).

army strong in cavalry, elephants, infantry (*nara*) and chariots (*ratha*) and by that army having reached the **Kaṇha-beṇṇā**, he throws the city of the **Musikas** into consternation. Again in the third year,

(L. 5) (*he*) versed in the science of the Gandharvas (*i.e.*, music), entertains the capital with the exhibition of *dapa*,<sup>1</sup> dancing, singing and instrumental music and by causing to be held festivities and assemblies (*samājas*) ;<sup>2</sup> similarly in the fourth year, 'the Abode of **Vidyā-dharas**' built by the former **Kaliṅga** king(s), which had not been damaged before ..... with their coronets<sup>3</sup> rendered meaningless, with their helmets (?) (*bilma*)<sup>4</sup> cut in twain (?), and with their umbrellas and

(L. 6) *bhājāras* cast away,<sup>5</sup> deprived of their jewels (*i.e.*, *ratana*, Skt. *ratna*, precious objects) all the **Raṭhikas** and **Bhojakas** (*he*) causes to bow down at his feet. Now in the fifth year *he* brings into the capital from the road of **Tanasuliya**<sup>6</sup> the canal excavated in the year one hundred-and-three of King **Nanda**<sup>7</sup> ..... Having been (*re-*) *auo-*inted (*he while*) celebrating the **Rājasūya**, remits all tithes and cesses,

(L. 7) bestows many privileges<sup>8</sup> (*amounting to*) hundreds of thousands or the City-Corporation<sup>9</sup> and the Realm-Corporation.<sup>10</sup> In the seventh year of his reign, his famous wife of **Vajiraghara**<sup>11</sup> obtained the dignity of auspicious motherhood..... Then in the eighth year, (*he*) with a large army having sacked **Goradhagiri**

(L. 8) causes pressure<sup>12</sup> on **Rājagaha** (**Rājagriha**). On account of the loud report of this act of valour, the **Yavana** (Greek) **King Dimi[ta]** retreated to **Mathurā** having extricated his demoralised army and transport..... (*He*) gives .....with foliage

<sup>1</sup> In Sindh this term is found in modern vernacular applied to a village-performance by a row of men who move on cutting antics. *Drava* in Sanskrit, meaning a dance, is connected with motion or running.

<sup>2</sup> On its meaning as a theatrical performance, see *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XLVIII, p. 235.

<sup>3</sup> (*Makuta*).—Crowns or coronets according to the *Nāṭya-sāstra* (XXI, 118). The *Raṭhikas* and *Bhojakas* were non-monarchical communities (*Hindu Polity*, Vol. I, p. 89).

<sup>4</sup> *Bilma* in the *Yajur-vēda*, XVI, 35, comes in the company of *kavacha* (coat-of-mail or breast-plate).

<sup>5</sup> *Bhringāra* which was made of gold, formed part of a ruler's paraphernalia according to the *Nāṭya-sāstra* (XXI, 138). So did the *chhatra* or umbrella.

<sup>6</sup> *Tanasuliya-vāṭā* means 'from the road of Tanasuli' or it might have been the name of the canal. *Vāṭā* also means an enclosure.

<sup>7</sup> The opinion of Luders (List No. 1345) and Konow (*Acta Orientalia*, Vol. I, p. 26) is in favour of interpreting *tiṣṣa-sata* as 103 years and not 300 years. This is acceptable in preference to 300 on considerations of chronological and historical data of the inscription discussed elsewhere (*J. B. O. R. S.*, Vol. XIII, pp. 237-238). Such uses of numbers are not unknown in Vedic Sanskrit. The natural explanation is 'the year one hundred and three of King Nanda'. On a Nanda era, see Yeḍarāve inscription of Chālukya Vikramāditya VI (*Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. I, Pt. ii, p. 43) and on an era beginning in 458 B. C. current in the time of Alberuni, the discussion on the subject in the *Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society* (Vol. XIII, pp. 237-241).

<sup>8</sup> *Anugaha*.—Consult *Hindu Polity*, II, 93; *Kautiliya Artha-sāstra*, 19, XIII, 171.

<sup>9</sup> *Pora* = *Paura*.—See the discussion on the subject in *Hindu Polity*, II, Ch. 27, and the next note below.

<sup>10</sup> *Jānapada*.—The discussion in the *Hindu Polity*, II, Ch. 27, sets out the materials. The question of identification of *Jānapada* as a corporate body is now put beyond controversy by the seal discovered at Nālandā which reads *Purikā-grāma-jānapadasya* 'of the Jānapada of the Purikā village'. This seal is in Gupta characters of the 5th or 6th century. [I am publishing it in my article on 'Some Clay Seals of Nālandā'-Ed.] Probably the central *Jānapada* was made up of the representatives of local *Jānapadas*. In the Hāthigumpha inscription we have *Jānapada* in the singular, that is, it refers to one (general) *Jānapada*.

<sup>11</sup> It is an ancient royal mannerism to refer to different queens by the name of the country of their origin of., *Kausalyā*, *Kaikēyī*, etc. The custom still continues in the present ruling families where *rāṇīs* are so referred to. For instance, a princess of the Udaipur family, if married in the Jodhpur family, would be styled *Sisodia mahal*.

<sup>12</sup> *Upapīḍāpayati* means presses down, inflicts pain (*Manu*, VI, 62; XII, 80). With the meaning 'devastating, laying waste', which the dictionaries give, the word may mean 'he sacks', but as it is contrasted with *ghātāpṛaṇitā* ('sacked') we take it that Khāravela only laid siege to the fortress of Rājagriha.

(L. 9) Kalpa<sup>1</sup> (wish-fulfilling) trees, elephants, chariots with their drivers, houses, residences and rest-houses. And to make all these acceptable (*he*) gives at a fire sacrifice (?) exemption (*from taxes*) to the caste of Brāhmaṇas. Of Arhat.....

(L. 10) ..... (*He*) causes to be built .... a royal residence (*called*) the **Palace of Great Victory** (*Mahāvijaya*) at the cost of thirty-eight hundred thousands. And in the tenth year (*he*), following (*the three-fold policy*) of chastisement, alliance and conciliation sends out an expedition against **Bharatavasa** (*and*) brings about the conquest of the land (*or, country*) ..... and obtains jewels and precious things of the (*kings*) attacked.

(L. 11) ..... And the market-town (!) **Pithumḍa**<sup>2</sup> founded by the **Ava King** he ploughs down with a plough of asses ;<sup>3</sup> and (*he*) thoroughly breaks up the confederacy<sup>4</sup> of the T[r]amira (Dramira) countries of one hundred and thirteen years,<sup>5</sup> which has been a source of danger<sup>6</sup> to (*his*) Country (Janapada). And in the twelfth year he terrifies the kings of the **Utarāpatha**<sup>7</sup> with.....thousands of

(L. 12) ..... And causing panic amongst the people of Magadha (*he*) drives (*his*) elephants into the **Sugāṅgiya**<sup>8</sup> (*Palace*), and (*he*) makes the King of Magadha, **Bahasati-mita**, bow at his feet. And (*he*) sets up<sup>9</sup> (*the image*) 'the **Jina of Kalinga**' which had been taken away by **King Nanda**.....and causes to be brought home the riches of **Aṅga** and **Magadha** along with the keepers of the family jewels of.....

(L. 13) ..... (*He*) builds excellent towers with carved interiors and creates a settlement of a hundred masons, giving them exemption from land revenue. And a wonderful and marvellous enclosure of stockade<sup>10</sup> for driving in the elephants (*he*) ..... and horses, elephants, jewels and rubies as well as numerous pearls in hundreds (*he*) causes to be brought here from the **Pāṇḍya King**.

(L. 14) ..... (*he*) subjugates. In the thirteenth year, on the **Kumārī Hill** where the Wheel of Conquest had been well-revolved<sup>11</sup> (*i.e.*, the religion of Jina had been

<sup>1</sup> Giving of Kalpa trees was one of the *Mahādānas* or great gifts according to Hēmadri (*Chaturvarga-chintāmani, dāna-khanda*). The tree was made of solid gold.

<sup>2</sup> *Prithu-aṇḍa* 'the big egg', probably had its origin in the physical feature of the situation of the city.

<sup>3</sup> In the Jaina book *Āvaśyakavṛtti*, Hāribhadri, (pp. 685-87) and Hēmachandra's *Vīracharitra* (pp. 170-71) it is stated that Koṇika ploughed Vaiśālī with ploughs drawn by asses. (*J. B. O. R. S.*, Vol. XIII, p. 231n.)

<sup>4</sup> *saṅghāta*.—According to Pāṇini (III, 3, 76, 86; V. 1, 59; and *Hindu Polity*, I, p. 27) the form should be here *saṅgha* and not *saṅghāta*. Evidently this distinction of Sanskrit grammar is not followed by Jaina writers of the time and the regular form *saṅghāta* is used probably owing to the religious significance already attaching to the term *saṅgha* amongst them.

<sup>5</sup> *Perasa-vasa-satikam*.—We take it to mean 113 years, not 1,300 years old in conformity with the interpretation of *ti-vasa-sata* above.

<sup>6</sup> [*Bhāvana*=Skt. *bhāpana* (cf. '*bhāpayate*' in the *Siddhāntakaumudī* on Pāṇ. 1, 3, 68). I am adopting the former reading *janapada*. The other reading will also yield nearly the same meaning.—K. P. J.]

<sup>7</sup> As the record distinguishes *Utarāpatha* from *Bharadvāsa* it should be taken to refer to that part of the country of which Takshasilā was the capital as in the *Divyāvadāna* (p. 407). Cf., *Kāvya-mīmāṃsā*, p. 94.

<sup>8</sup> *Sugāṅga* Palace is mentioned in the *Mudrārākṣasa* (Act III) as the palace of Chandragupta Maurya. This must have been near or on the Ganges. Khāravēla's entry by means of elephants implies that it was a fortified palace.

<sup>9</sup> *saṁnivēsa*..., probably *saṁnivēśayati*, "sets up an image". *Saṁnivēśa* in the sense of an image is mentioned in the dictionaries. The image called the Kalinga Jina was set up by Khāravēla. This image had been taken away by King Nanda. There is no doubt about the reading of the text and the translation of *Nanda-rāja-nīlam*.

<sup>10</sup> *nivāsa-parisaram* = *nirvāsa-parisaram*. Compare the *Kāmandakiya* on *nirvāsa* of elephants (XV, 7). *parisara* is enclosure or stockade.

<sup>11</sup> *supavata-vijaya-chakra*: Skt. *supravṛtta-vijaya-chakra*, cf., *pavata-chako* in l. 17; *vijaya-chaka*, 'the wheel of conquest'. Evidently this was a term common to Buddhism and Jainism. That Varddhamaṇa Mahāvira preached Jainism in Kalinga is attested by the tradition contained in Jaina literature (*J. B. O. R. S.*, Vol. XIII, p. 223). The *Hāribhadrīya-vṛtti* says that Mahāvira went to Kalinga where his father's friend was ruling.

preached), (he) offers respectfully<sup>1</sup> royal maintenances, China clothes<sup>2</sup> (*silks*) and white clothes<sup>3</sup> to (the monks) who (by their austerities) have extinguished the round of lives,<sup>4</sup> the preachers<sup>5</sup> on the religious life and conduct at the Relic Memorial.<sup>6</sup> By Khāravēla, the illustrious, as a layman devoted to worship, is realised (the nature of) *jīva* and *dēha*<sup>7</sup>

(L. 15) ..... bringing about a Council<sup>8</sup> of the wise ascetics and sages, from hundred (i.e., all) quarters, the monks (*samaṇas*) of good deeds and who have fully followed (the injunctions) ..... near the Relic Depository of the Arhat, on the top of the hill,<sup>9</sup> ..... with stones ..... brought from many miles (*yojanas*) quarried from excellent mines (he builds) shelters<sup>10</sup> for the **Sirīhapatha Queen Sindhulā**. ....

(L. 16) ..... Pātālaka(?) ..... (he) sets up four columns inlaid with beryl... ..... at the cost of seventy-five hundred thousands; (he) causes to be compiled expeditiously the (text) of the seven-fold *Amgas*<sup>11</sup> of the sixty-four<sup>12</sup> (letters). He is the King of Peace, the King of Prosperity, the King of Monks (*bhikṣus*), the King of Religion (*Dharma*), who has been seeing, hearing and realising blessings (*kalyāṇas*)—

(L. 17) ..... accomplished in extraordinary virtues, respector of every sect, the repairer of all temples, one whose chariot and army are irresistible, one whose empire is protected by the chief of the empire (himself), descended from the family of the Royal Sage **Vasū**, the Great conqueror, the King, the illustrious **Khāravēla**.

#### No. 8.—KAP COPPER-PLATE OF KELADI SADAŚIVA-NAYAKA; SAKA 1479.

By N. LAKSHMINARAYAN RAO, M.A.

This copper-plate was secured by the Assistant Archæological Superintendent for Epigraphy, Southern Circle, Madras, from **Kāp** a village in the South Kanara district of the Madras Presidency in 1921 and has been noticed in the *Annual Report on South Indian Epigraphy* for that year as No. 8 of Appendix A.

<sup>1</sup> *arāhayaṭe* = *arghayaṭe*.

<sup>2</sup> *Chīna-vaṭāni* = *chīrna-vastrāni* or *Chīna-vastrāni*. The latter gives a more reasonable meaning.

<sup>3</sup> *vāsā-sitāni*.—This was formerly read as *rasā-sitāni*. It would be the earliest reference to the white clothes later on connected with the Śvētāmbara sect.

<sup>4</sup> *samsita* = Skt. *samsṛiti*.

<sup>5</sup> *Nāvaka* = Skt. *Jñāpaka*.—*Yāpa* in *yāpa-nāvakehi* may be interpreted in view of its use in *Charaka* as “mitigating pain”, or as “supporting life” according to the *Mahābhārata*. [The translation given above is adopted now from the Jaina texts. See above p. 85, n. 5—K. P. J.]

<sup>6</sup> The Jainas raised symbolical graves of saints and *Nishidhi* or *Nishidhi* was the name given to them. (Cf. *Ante*, Vol. II, p. 274; *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XII, p. 99).

<sup>7</sup> Soul and body: these relate to the Jaina philosophy wherein the topic is very prominent (Stevenson, *Heart of Jainism*, Ch. VII).

<sup>8</sup> *Saṃghayana* = assemblage.

<sup>9</sup> *pābhāre* = *prāg-bharē*.

<sup>10</sup> *nisayāni* = Skt. *niśrayāni*.

<sup>11</sup> *Amga* is a technical term meaning the sacred canon of the Jainas. If we read *Amga-satika-turiyam* instead of *Amgasatikam turiyam* then we may translate it as “the *Amgas* (in collections of) 7 and 4”. According to the Jaina tradition the *Amgas*, eleven in number, were discovered after their loss.

<sup>12</sup> *turiyam* = *turitam*, “expeditiously”, or *turiyam*, “four-fold”. Jaina authors maintain that the Jaina Canon is covered by 64 letters; see *Gōmāṭasāra, Jīva-khaṇḍa* (Sacred Books of the Jains, Vol. V, 1627 edition by J. L. Jaini, Introduction, p. 13).

"The plate which is rectangular in shape is 16·4" long and 11·5" broad. At the top of the plate, just in the centre, there is a flat projection 1·4" broad and 1" high shaped into the form of an arch. There is a small hole in the arch through which passes an ordinary copper ring 1·75" in diameter. The plate has suffered a slight damage at its proper right corner at the top. But the writing on either side is in a good state of preservation. The plate with the ring weighs 230 tolas."

The language of the inscription is partly Sanskrit and partly Kannaḍa. The first six verses are in Sanskrit and the next six in Kannaḍa, the rest being in Kannaḍa prose. The Kannaḍa verses are defective both in diction and in prosody. The record is written in Kannaḍa alphabet and is rather indifferently inscribed. The letter *va* is often written like *ra* and it is not easy to distinguish *pa* from *ru* (as in *Tirumarasa* in line 17). The aspirates are generally distinguished by means of the vertical stroke at the bottom except in the case of *dha*. The secondary form of *va* is sometimes used (*vulla* in l. 36 and *vūrolage* in l. 37). With respect to orthography: (i) the consonants are invariably doubled when they are preceded by *rēpha*; (ii) the nasal is generally changed into an *anusvāra* before consonants of the same class; (iii) the consonants are freely used in place of vowels (e.g., *ye* for *e* in l. 21 and *vo* for *o* in l. 14); (iv) the letter *sa* is sometimes wrongly used for *sha* (ll. 8 and 42); and (v) double *na* is used for *ṇa* as in *arnnava* (l. 9).

The object of the inscription is to register a grant of land made by Madda-Heggaḍe, the chief of Kāp with (the consent) of the assembly (*nāḷinavarū*)<sup>1</sup>, communal and professional guilds (*gaṇa-paṇa*) and subordinate officers,<sup>2</sup> for offerings to Dharmmarātha, the 15th Jina Tirthaṅkara. The gift was made at the instance of the Jaina teacher Dēvachandradēva for the spiritual welfare of his guru Munichandradēva, the disciple of Abhinava ēvakirttidēva.

The date of the record is Śālivāhana-Śaka 1479, the cyclic year Naḷa, the first *tithi* of the bright half of Kārttika, and Sunday. According to L. D. Swamikannu Pillai's *Ephemeris* the details correspond regularly to A.D. 1556, October 4, Sunday.

The inscription opens with an obeisance to Dharmmanātha which is followed by a verse in praise of the Jina-doctrine (*śāsana*). It then invokes Vardhamāna (Mahāvira), the 24th Jina. Verses 3 to 6 describe the high spiritual attainments of a Jaina sage named Bhūnu who belonged to Tintriṇī-gachchha, Kāpūr-gaṇa and Mūla-saṃgha. The Kannaḍa verses, which follow, extol the donor Madda-Heggaḍe but tell us nothing material except that he belonged to the Paṅguḷa line (*baḷi*) and that he was the administrator of the beautiful town of Kāp. (Vv. 7-12.) The inscription then states that Rāmarājayya, though he was the lieutenant of king Sadāśivarāya, was ruling the (*Vijayanagara*) empire (ll. 18-21) and that Sadāśiva-Nāyaka (*of Ikkēri*) was the ruler of the districts of Bārakūru and Maṅgalūru. Next comes an eulogy of Madda-Heggaḍe in an elaborate prose passage which tells us that he was administering the chief town of Kāp with (the help of) the assembly, communal and professional associations and subordinate officers. Then follows the formal portion of the grant. The lands granted were

<sup>1</sup> *nāḷinavarū* is the corrupt form of *nāḷinavarū* which comes from *nāḍu* meaning assembly.

<sup>2</sup> *gaṇa* 'is an aggregate of *kulas*' *kulānām hi saṃghas* = *tu gaṇaḥ saṃprakīrtitaḥ* (Kātyāyana, *Vṛnamitrōdaya*, p. 426; quoted by Dr. Pran Nath in his "Economic condition of Ancient India", p. 54); and *paṇa* is a sectarian division. Eighteen *paṇas* are referred to in an inscription of the 17th century, viz., *Vyāvahārikas*, *pāṇchāias* (five seats of *śaṃths*), *tumbhālikas* (potters), *tantutāyins* (weavers), *vastra-bhēdakas* (cloth dyers?), *tila-ghātakas* (oil-millers), *kuraṇṭakas* (*kuraṇṭakas*? : shoe-makers), *vastra-rakshakas* (tailors), *dēvāṅgas*, *parikeliti* (*parikeliti*-*giris*? : keepers of pack-bullocks), *gō-rakshakas* (cow-herds), *kirātas* (bunters), *rajakas* (washer-men) and *ksau*, *rakas* (barbers). These formed a recognised part of the local assemblies. (*Annual Report on South-Indian Epigraphy for 1918*, part II, paragraphs 84 and 85.)

situated in the village of **Mallāru** and yielded an income of 80 *varāhas*.<sup>1</sup> This income, it states, was to be utilized for the daily rice offering, for the *hālu-dhāre* (milk-bath?) and for feeding the assembly (*of sages*) on the 17th and 25th days of every month. Provision was also made for extra expenses to be incurred when either of these days happened to be a *Maṅgala(ā)-t-ayōdaśī*. Muni Charaṇavijayaṭṭi from Poona has kindly pointed out that, according to the colophon of the Digambara Jaina work *Yasōdharachariyā*, *Maṅgalā-trayōdaśī* is the 13th day of the dark fortnight of *Āśvina*.

Sadāsiva-Nāyaka of the record was the first prominent chief of the **Ikkēri-Keladi** family which held sway over the whole of South Kanara and parts of the Mysore State from the 16th to the 18th century A. D.<sup>2</sup> Since very little is known about him, a short account of his career may be given here. He was the elder of the two sons of **Chauḍappa**, the governor of **Mallādōsa**, the younger being **Bhadrappa**. Soon after Sadāsiva succeeded his father, his first act was to reduce to submission by the order of Rāmarājayya, who was the *de facto* ruler of Vijayanagara, the kings of Bijāpur and Kalyāṇa. Immensely pleased with this achievement of Sadāsiva, the emperor appointed him governor of Chandragutti, Bārakūru and Maṅgalūru, besides bestowing on him the title of *Kōṭe-kōlāhala*<sup>3</sup> (disturber of forts) and the privilege of affixing the term of honour *rāya-nāyaka* to his name. Sadāsiva's next expedition was against the rebellious chiefs of Chandragutti and Bidar and in recognition of his achievements he got the *biruda* of *Śatru-saptāṅgaharaṇa*. He next put down the chiefs of **Tuḷu** and **Kēraḷa** and set up a pillar of victory. Shortly afterwards, he punished the defection of two chiefs named **Yeḍava** and **Murārī** in the country of **Jālibāḷu** and received as a reward the title of *Yeḍava-Murārī* from the emperor. Sometime later, he marched against Mādarasa of **Baṅkāpura** and took him prisoner. By this time Sadāsiva's younger brother Bhadrappa who had gone on a pilgrimage came back. After governing the provinces conjointly with his brother for sometime, Sadāsiva nominated him as his successor with the surname **Immaḍi Sadāsiva-Nāyaka** and retired to the forest.<sup>4</sup>

The date of **Sadāsiva-Nāyaka** may now be ascertained. Our grant is dated in Śaka 1479 (A.D. 1556). The latest date available for him, viz., Śaka 1486, Dundubhi<sup>5</sup> (A.D. 1562) is furnished by a record at Maṇigārakēri near Bārakūr. And Śaka 1473, Sādhāraṇa<sup>6</sup> (A.D. 1550) is the earliest date that we have for him from his inscriptions. In śaka 1488, Kshaya<sup>7</sup> (A.D. 1566) Immaḍi Sadāsiva-Nāyaka is known to have been ruling. Sadāsiva-Nāyaka must, therefore, have ceased to rule sometime between A.D. 1562 and A.D. 1566. So the period in which he flourished may be taken to be A. D. 1550-1562. The date assigned to him by Rice, viz., A. D. 1513-1545 is, therefore, not correct.<sup>8</sup> Here it is necessary to say a word about **Immaḍi Sadāsiva-Nāyaka's** place in the genealogy of the Keladi family. Though a number

<sup>1</sup> A *varāha* is equal to 3½ rupees. But the expression used here is *doḍḍa-(big) varāha*, the exact significance of which is not clear.

<sup>2</sup> For an account of this family see *A. S. R.* for 1911-12, pp. 196 ff; and Rice's *Mysore and Coorg from Inscriptions*, pp. 156 ff.

<sup>3</sup> This title as well as others that follow are found in most of the inscriptions of the Nāyakas of Ikkēri.

<sup>4</sup> This account is based on *Kallōlas* 2-5, *Taranga* V of the Sanskrit Encyclopædia *Śivatatvatratnākara* edited by Messrs. B. Rama Rao, M.A., LL.B. and Vidvān P. Sundara Śāstri.

<sup>5</sup> No. 168 of 1901, *Annual Report on South Indian Epigraphy*, 1901.

<sup>6</sup> *Ep. Carn.*, Vol. VIII, Nagar 77.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, Nagar 1.

<sup>8</sup> *Mysore and Coorg from Inscriptions*, table on p. 157.



of his inscriptions<sup>1</sup> has been discovered he has not been included in the table<sup>2</sup> of the house published by Rice, perhaps, because his relationship to other members of the dynasty was not known to that scholar. Now the work *Śivatatvaratnākara* enables us to say that Immaḍi Sadāśiva-Nāyaka was the younger brother and successor of Sadāśiva.

The sage Bhānu, who has been highly eulogised in the record, must have been one of the Jaina teachers of that name who were replaced by Lalitakīrti in about Śaka 1286.<sup>3</sup> Nothing is known about Dēvachandradēva at whose instance the grant was made, his *guru* Munichandra-dēva and his *guru* Abhinavadēvakīrttidēva.

With regard to the geographical names occurring in the inscription, the village Mallāru may be identified with Mallūru in the Uḍipi Taluk; **Beḷuḡuḷa** is the well-known Śravana Beḷḡuḷa in the Mysore State; **Kopaṇa** is Kopaḷ, a famous place of pilgrimage of the Jains in the Nizām's Dominions; **Parvata** is probably identical with Śrīśailam in the Kurnool District, which is one of the twelve great centres of Śaiva worship.<sup>4</sup> **Gōkarṇa** is the village of that name in North Kanara; **Tirumale** is the celebrated Tirupati in the Chittoor District. **Ūjjantagiri**, which appears as Ūrjayat-giri in the Junāgaḍh inscription of Rudradāman,<sup>5</sup> is the Mount Girnar on which there is an ancient temple of Nēminātha.

#### TEXT.

##### *First Side.*

- 1 Śrī-Dharmmanātha[nē] śaraṇu || Śrīmat-parama-gambhīra-syādvād-āmōgha-lāṃchhanam  
[1\*] jīyā-
- 2 t=trailōkya-nāthasya śāsanam Jina-śāsanam || [1\*] Svasti Śrī sakala-jñāna-sāmrājya  
-pada-rājita[ḥ\*] | Va-
- 3 rthdha[rddha]māna-Jināddhīśa<sup>6</sup>-syādvāda-maṭha-bhāsuraḥ || [2\*] **Tīmtriṇī-gachchha-**  
vārāsēs=sudhāmsur=jñāna-dī-
- 4 dhitiḥ [1\*]sa[d\*]-dharmma-sarasi-hamsaḥ pravādi-gaja-kēsari || [3\*] **Kāpūr-gaṇa-nabhō-**  
bhāgē bābhāti muni-
- 5 kuṃ[ja]raḥ | ajñāna-timir-ōddhūti [ḥ\*] Śrīmān-Bhānu-mun-ī[śva]raḥ || [4\*] Paṃch-āchāra-  
śara-dhvasta-paṃcha-
- 6 bāṇa-[śa]ra-vrajaḥ | akhamḍa-śrī-tapō-lakṣmī-nāyakō Bhānu-saṃyamī || [5\*] Śrīmad-Bhānu-  
mu-
- 7 n-īśva[rō] vijayatē syādvāda-dharmm-āmbarē śrīmad-jñāna-vinūt[na]-dīdhiti-[śa]ta-dhvast-  
āmḍhakā-
- 8 ra-vrajaḥ[1\*] śrī-Mūl-āmala-saṃgha-nīraja-mahā-shamḍēśv<sup>7</sup>=akhamḍa-śriyam vyāta[nva]-  
n=muni-
- 9 kōka-chāru-nikaram saukhy-ārnn(n)avē magnayan<sup>8</sup> || [6\*] **Tuḷu-dēśav=emba bhūpana poḷeva**  
mahā-pa-
- 10 dakad=amte yesarg(se)guṃ nichkaṃ<sup>9</sup> | dharey-oḷage **Kāpina** nagarada nelanan=ā[va] bhūpa  
**Madda-Heggaḍey=embaṃ** || [7\*]

<sup>1</sup> *Ep. Carn.*, Vol. VIII, Nagar 2, 3 and 4.

<sup>2</sup> *Mysore and Coorg*, p. 157.

<sup>3</sup> Above, Vol. VIII, p. 129, f. n. 2.

<sup>4</sup> Nandolal Dey's *Ancient Geography of India*, p. 193.

<sup>5</sup> Above, Vol. VIII, p. 42.

<sup>6</sup> Read *Jināddhīśaḥ*.

<sup>7</sup> Read *shamḍēśv*.

<sup>8</sup> Read *mājjayan*.

<sup>9</sup> Read *nichkaṃ*.

- 11 Paṅguḷa-baḷi adhipatiyanu poṁ-gaḷasade(a) nelake tānu nṛpa-kuḷa-tilakam | saṁgata-sabheyoḷu
- 12 po[gaḷu]m Anigaja-jaya-Jina-pad-ābja-madhukaran=embaṁ || [8\*] Bhū-dēviya mukha-karṇaḍi bādēṁ [hē]va-
- 13 rgge Kāpuv=enisida nagaram ādaradiṁn=adaro[ḷg=ā] mēḷini-mata-Dharmmanāthan=ena(se)guṁ Jinapam | [9\*] Ā-nagara-
- 14 kk=adhipatiyūṁ Śrī-pati Tiru[ma]rasa-nṛpa [a]vanī-tilakam | vōmanadali<sup>1</sup> ātānuṁ vōtu karam Mukti-La-
- 15 kshmig=ittam manamam || [10\*] Yēn-embe Madda-Heggaḍe dāna-chatu[r]-vvidhakke tāne chintā-ratnam sanmu(nnu)ta-gṛṇa-gaṇa-
- 16 nniḷeyam<sup>2</sup> umnata<sup>3</sup> śīḷavanu tūḷda [nṛ]pa-ripu-saṁhāram || [11\*] Dharmadoḷam [dṛiḍha]-chittanu nirmala-
- 17 guru-bhaktiyalli Tirumarasa-nṛpam Dharmma-Jina-Jaina-śāsanamam voṁ-mandim tānu māḍi kriti[ya]-
- 18 mṇ(nn)=ittam || [12\*] Svasti Śrī || [1\*] Jayādbhudaya<sup>4</sup> Śālivāhana-Śaka-varsha 1479 neya saṁda Naḷa-saṁivatsara-
- 19 da Kārttika-suddha 1 Ādityavāradaḷu Śrīman=mahārājādhirāja rājaparamēśvara satya-ratnākara
- 20 śaraṇāgata-vajra-paṁjara chatu[s\*]samudr-ādhiśvara Kaliyuga- chakravartti śrī-vīrapratāpa Sadāsiva-
- 21 rāya-rāja-rājēmdra-dakṣhiṇa-bhāga-bhāgva-dēvatā-saṁnibharum=appa Rāmarājayya-navar[u] yē-
- 22 ka-[chha]tradim rājya[va]nu pratipālisut=irdda kāḷadalu Bārakūru Maṁgalūralu Sadāsi-(śi)va-Nāyakaru
- 23 rājyavam ge[yi]t<sup>5</sup>=irdda kāḷadalu Tuḷu[va]-dēśa-kāminī-mukha-kamala-tilakāyamā[n]-ānādi-si-
- 24 ddha-prasiddha-Kāpi-siṁhāsan-ōday-āchal-ālamkaraṇa-taruṇa-[t]araṇi-prakāśarum ananya-rājanya-sau[ja]-
- 25 nany<sup>6</sup>-[au]dāryya-vīryya-dhairyya-[mā]dhuryya-gāmbhīryya-naya-vinaya-satya-śaucha-ādy-ananta-guṇa-
- 26 gaṇa-nūtna-ratn-ābharana-gaṇa-kiraṇ-ōdyōtita-Bharatādi-sakala-[pu]rāṇa-purusharum=appa
- 27 Tirumalarasar=āda Madda-Heggaḍeyaru avara nā[ḷi]navaru gaṇa-paṇa-sāvantaru Kāpina rājyava-
- 28 nu pratipālisut=irdda kāḷadalu<sup>7</sup> || [1\*] Svasti || [1\*] Śrīmad-rāya-rāja-guru-matṛdal-āchāryya mahā-
- 29 vāda-vādiśvara rāya-vādi-pitāmaha sakala-vidva[ḷi]ana-chakravarttigalut<sup>8</sup> ity-ādy-anēka-bi-
- 30 rudāvali-virājamānarum Kāpūgra<sup>9</sup>-gaṇ-āgra-gaṇyaruga]um=appa Śrīmad-Abhinava-
- 31 dēvakīrttidēvarugaḷa śiṣhyaru Munīchandrādēvarugaḷu [a]varugaḷa śiṣhyaru Dēvachamdradē-

<sup>1</sup> Read *ommanadali*.

<sup>2</sup> Read *niḷeyam*.

<sup>3</sup> Read *unnata*.

<sup>4</sup> Read *Jay-ābhudaya*.

<sup>5</sup> Read *geyyuti*.

<sup>6</sup> Delete *na*.

<sup>7</sup> Read *kāḷadalu*.

<sup>8</sup> These *birudas* are also borne by Bha ṭikaṇka, the author of *Siddhantāsana*, the Kannaḍa grammar in Sanskrit, and several other Jaina teachers.

<sup>9</sup> Read *Kāṭṭr*.

- 32 varugaḷu tamma guru Munichamdradēvarugaḷige svargg-āpavarggakke kāraṇav-āgi  
Kāpina-  
33 lu dharmmavanu māḍabēk-emba chittadiṁḍa Tirumalarasar=āda Madda-Heggaḍeyara  
kūṁ(kū)-  
34 ḍeyu avara nāḷinavaru gaṇa-[p]aṇa-sāmaṁtara kūḍeyu Kāpina halara sahāyadim-  
35 da dharmmakke voṁḍu kshētravanu koḍabēku yeṁḍu chittaisaḷ-āgi avarugaḷu dharmma-  
36 pariṇāma-svarūpavane vuḷḷavar=āda kāraṇa guru-bhaktiyiṁḍa tamma simeya-  
37 lu Ma[llā]r-emba [vū]r-oḷage paḍu[va\*]ṇa dikkinalu Kaḷaṁtōpatina bālkeyalu aḷai-  
38 ṁḍa voḷage beṭṭina gadde l kkaṁ bija baḷḷa mū[vaj]ttara lekkada batta mūḍe 2 mattaṁ  
a-  
39 gaḷimḍaṁ horage Pāpinadiy-emba ga[dde] l kkaṁ bija baḷḷa mūvattara lekkada bīja  
40 mūḍe 4 mattaṁ bāgila gadde l kkaṁ bija baḷḷa mūvattara lekkada mūḍe 4 gadde mū-

*Second Side.*

- 41 rakkaṁ bija mūḍe 10 ī bhūmigalige vuḷḷa kare mure mane bāvi halasu māvu su-  
42 mbe nikkil=urkkamrdde kadiru jala pāsā(shā)ṇa saha mūla-dhāreyanu yera(eredu) ko-  
43 ṭṭu yisikōṁḍa doḍḍa vara(ā)ha ga 80 akshā(a)radalu yemḍhattu vara(ā)ha yī ho-  
44 nnige yeraḍu beḷeyalu saha varsha l kke baha akki aṁgaḍiya horigeya  
45 baḷḷa aivattara lekkada akki mūḍe 24 ī akkige naḍava dharmmada vivara Kāpina basti-  
46 ya keḷagaṇa neleyalu Dharmma-Tīrtha[ṁ\*]kara-sannidhiyalu madhyāhna-kāladalu nityada-  
47 lu dina voṁḍakke voṁḍu baḷḷa akkiya naivēdyakku [Mu]nichamdradēvarugaḷa hesa-  
48 rinalu naḍa[va] hāla-dhāregu saha akki mūḍe 10 tiṁgaḷu tiṁgaḷu tappade tiṁ-  
49 gaḷalli 17 hōhāga naḍava vāra l mattaṁ ippatta-aidu 25 hōhāga naḍava  
50 vāra l aṁtu tiṁgaḷalli yeraḍu vāra samadāya<sup>1</sup> naḍavudakke akki mūḍevu<sup>2</sup>  
51 12 ī vāraṁgaḷalli Maṁgala(ā)-trayōdaśi bahāga ā Maṁgala(ā)-trayōdaśi naḍava-  
52 [d-e]ṁ[du\*] viśēshav-āgi yirisida akki mūḍe 2 aṁtu akki mūḍe yippatta-nāḷku  
53 yī dharmmada sthalaḍalli Baḷḷaḷarige anāya sanāya salladu illa ā stha[ḷa]<sup>3</sup>gaḍalu<sup>4</sup> idda  
54 vokkalige biṭṭi biḍāra salladu kāṇike dese appaṇe padadalli yettu(a) salladu yeṁḍu  
55 sarvvamānyav-āgi Tirumalarasar=āda Madda-Heggaḍeyaru avara nāḷinavaru ga-  
56 ṇa-paṇa-sāmaṁtaru saha tamma dharmma-pariṇāma-nimittav-āgi tamma svarū(ru)chi-  
57 yiṁḍa guru-bhaktiyiṁḍa voḍaṁbatṭu barasi koṭṭa tāmbra-śāsana imt=a-  
58 ppudakke sākshigaḷu ati(dhi)kāri Kāṁta-seṭṭi Chaṭa Bikra-seṭṭi Sāmaṇi Saṁkara-  
59 seṭṭi Rāja-seṭṭi Bagge-[se\*]ṭṭiya aḷiya Kēsaṇa Mūlūra Beḷile Birumāḷa  
60 Dugga Baṁḍāri Birusāmaṇi yimt=inivara vubhay-ānma[ta\*]ḍim Ma-  
61 ṁgaḷūra Saṁkaḷ-Sēnabōvana baraha [\*] yimt=i dharmma-śāsa[na\*]kke maṁgaḷa-  
62 mahā-śrī śrī śrī[||\*]Sva-dattā[d\*]=dviguṇaṁ puṇyaṁ para-datt-ānupālanaṁ[||\*]  
63 para-datt-āpāhāreṇa sva-dattam niḥ(sh)phalaṁ bhavēt || Dāna-pālanayōr=mmadhyē  
64 dānāch=chhrēyō-nupālanaṁ dānāt=svarggam=avāpnōti pālanād=achyutaṁ  
65 padaṁ || yī(i) dharmma-śāsanakke āvanān=obba Jainan=ādava tappidare Beḷugu-  
66 ḷada Gaṁmatānātha<sup>5</sup> Kopaṇada Chāṁdranātha Ūjjaṁta-giriya Nēmaśvara-  
67 mōḍalāda Jina-bimbagaḷan=oḍa(e)da pāpakke hōharu Śaivan=ādare Pa-

<sup>1</sup> Read *samudāya*.

<sup>2</sup> Read *mūḍe*.

<sup>3</sup> The letter [ḷa] is written below the line.

<sup>4</sup> Read *sthalaḍalu*.

68 **rvvata-Gōkarnna**-modalāḍavaralli<sup>1</sup> kōṭi-liṅgavan=oḷa(e)la pāpakke hōharu

69 **Vaishṇavan**=āḍare **Tirumale**-modalāḍavaralli kōṭi-Viṣṇu-mūrtivan=oḷa(e).

70 da pāpakke hōharu | Bhadrām bhūyāj=Jina-śāsanaśya [ e | Śrī [ \* ]

### TRANSLATION.

L. 1. Obeisance to **Dharmmanātha** !

V. 1. For the translation of this verse see above, Vol. XIII, p. 22.

V. 2. Hail ! The illustrious Vardhamāna, the lord of Jinas, who adorns the seat (*symbolic*) of universal sovereignty of all knowledge and who brightens the *Syādvāda* school.

Vv. 3 and 4. **Bhānu**, the lord of sages, the ray of enlightenment of the moon to the **Tim-triṇi-gachchha** ocean, the swan in the lake of pure faith (*i.e.*, Jainism), a lion to the elephant of religious disputants, the dispeller of the darkness of ignorance, the elephant among ascetics, shines in the sky of **Kāpūr-gaṇa**.

V. 5. The sage Bhānu who broke asunder the multitude of arrows of Cupid by his arrows, the five practices (*āchāras*<sup>2</sup>) is the lord of the ever prosperous Goddess of Penance

V. 6. The illustrious Bhānu, the lord of sages, the reducer of the masses of darkness to dust by hundred fresh rays of knowledge, stands victorious in the heavens of *Syādvāda* religion fostering eternal prosperity among the assemblage of lotuses in the (*lake of*) the pure **Mūla-saṃgha** and immersing sages, the herds of lovely *kōkas*, in the ocean of happiness.

V. 7. **Madda-Heggaḍe**, the ruler of the city of **Kāp**—be he ever radiant on the earth like the shining pendant worn by the king, in the form of the **Tuḷu** country.

V. 8. (*This*) jewel of the community of kings, the lord of the territory adorned by golden pinnacles, born in the Paṅguḷa lineage, a bee at the lotus feet of Jina the conqueror of Cupid, is being praised in assemblies (*of great and learned men*).

V. 9. The city known as **Kāpu** is the mirror of the goddess Earth ; therein shines the Jinapa Dharmmanātha honoured by the world.

V. 10. The lord of that city and the favourite of Fortune, king **Tirumarasa**, the ornament of the goddess Earth, gave himself up with one mind and with great zeal to (*the service of*) the Goddess of Final emancipation.

V. 11. How shall I describe (*him*) ? **Madda-Heggaḍe** is the wish-giving gem (*chintāratna*) for the four kinds of gifts, the abode of all virtues and the vanquisher of enemy kings who have haughty demeanour.

V. 12. King Tirumarasa possessed of firm faith in *dharma* granted a Jaina-śāsana (*endowment*) with one mind and with great devotion to his spiritual preceptor and got an inscription written (*to that effect*).

Ll. 18f. Hail ! Prosperity ! In the prosperous **Śālivāhana Śaka** year 1479 expired (*corresponding to*) the cyclic year **Naḷa**, on the 1st (*day*) of the **bright** half of **Kārttika**, on **Sunday**,

Ll. 19ff. when **Rāmarājayya**, who was, as it were, the Goddess of Fortune on the right side of the **Mahārājādhirāja**, the **Paramēśvara**, ocean of Truth, and adamant cage for those who seek refuge, the lord of the four oceans, the emperor of Kaliyuga, Virapratāpa-**Sadāśivarāya**, was protecting the kingdom under one umbrella and while **Sadāśiva-Nāyaka** was ruling (*as viceroy*) the (*provinces of*) **Bārakūru** and **Maṅgalūru**,

<sup>1</sup> Read °*darugaḷalli*.

<sup>2</sup> The five *āchāras* are : 1. Darśan-āchāra (to induce steady faith), 2. Jñān-āchāra (to increase knowledge), 3. Charitr-āchāra (to improve one's daily life), 4. Tapa-āchāra (to become a great ascetic) and 5. Viry-āchāra (to increase the power of one's inner self). (*Śravaṇa-Belgoḷa Inscriptions*, Translations p. 54, f. n. 2).

Ll. 23ff. and while Madda-Heggade who had the name Tirumalarasa, an ornament to the lotus face of the damsel the **Tuḷuva** country, the young sun (*emerging from*) the eastern mountain. viz., the throne of Kāp which is from time immemorial famous in all directions, (*the incarnation as it were of*) all the ancients like Bharata<sup>1</sup> radiant with the rays of multitudes of ornaments of fresh gems, the collection of many virtues, which were possessed by no other man of royal descent, viz., friendliness, generosity, prowess, sweetness, profundity, policy, politeness, truth and purity, etc., was ruling the chieftdom of Kāp assisted by his assembly, communal and professional guilds and his subordinate officers;

Ll. 28ff. hail! 'Munichandradēva, the disciple of Abhinavadēvakīrtidēva, the āchārya of the circle of royal preceptors, the lord of great disputants, emperor of all learned men, resplendant with several such *biradas*, the foremost (*follower*) of the *Kāṇūr-gaṇa*;

Ll. 31ff. his disciple **Dēvachandradēva** requested Tirumalarasa *alias* Madda-Heggade, his assembly, communal and professional guilds and his officers to grant a piece of land with the help of several (*people*) of Kāp, with the intention of instituting a charity at Kāp for the final beatitude of his *guru* Munichandradēva;

Ll. 36ff. and as they were of a charitable temperament, they, out of devotion to their preceptor, granted, with pouring of water, on the western side of the village of **Mallāru** (*situated*) within their province, in the place called Kaḷantōpatina-bālke, on the inner side of the trench, one *beṭṭu*<sup>2</sup> land requiring seed (*for sowing*) of 2 *mūḍe* of paddy calculated at 30 *baḷla*<sup>3</sup> (*for each mūḍe*) and outside the trench one wet land called Pāpinadi requiring 4 *mūḍe* calculated at 30 *baḷla* and a *bāgila* land requiring seed of 4 *mūḍe* calculated at 30 *baḷla*; (*in all*) three wet lands requiring seed of 10 *mūḍe*, with the properties attached to them, viz., *kare*, *mure*, house, well, jack-trees, mango-trees, *sumbe*, *nikkil*, *urkkamrddē*, crop, water and stone; (*and Dēvachandradēva*) received 80 big *varāhas*—in words eighty—(*being the money income of the said lands*).

Ll. 44ff. From this gold (*was to be purchased*), at both crops, 24 *mūḍe* of rice calculated at 50 *baḷla* of the standard prevalent in the bazaar. The (*following are the*) details of the charities to be managed with this rice:

Ll. 46ff. 10 *mūḍe* of rice for the rice offering at noon at the rate of one *baḷla* each day and for the *hālu-dhāre*, conducted in the name of Munichandradēva to Dharmanātha-Tirthamkara in the lower storey of the temple at Kāp; 12 *mūḍe* of rice for feeding Jain ascetics (*samudāya*) on 2 days in the month, viz., the 17th and 25th day. If either of these days happened to be a *Mamgalā-trayōdaśī*, 2 *mūḍe* of rice were provided for the extra expenses that would have to be incurred to celebrate that *Mamgalā-trayōdaśī*. Thus the total is 24 *mūḍe*.

Ll. 53f. In this place of charity the taxes *anāya*<sup>4</sup> and *sanāya*<sup>5</sup> were not to be levied by the *Baḷlāḷas*<sup>6</sup>; the *Vokkalu* had no *biṭṭi*<sup>7</sup> and *biḍāra*<sup>8</sup> and the fees *kāṇike*, *dese* and *appaṇe* could not be raised.

Ll. 55ff. (*This is*) the copper-plate inscription recording the *sarvamānya* gift caused to be written and granted by Tirumalarasa *alias* Madda-Heggade, his assembly, communal and professional guilds and subordinate officers out of their own free will and devotion to their *guru*.

<sup>1</sup> Bharata was the brother of Bāhubali or Gommaṭa and son of Ādinātha, the first Tirthankara. (Above, Vol. VII, p. 108 and *Mysore Arch. Rep.* for 1913, p. 5).

<sup>2</sup> *beṭṭu* is a wet land capable of yielding one crop annually.

<sup>3</sup> *baḷla* is equal to 2 *seers* generally.

<sup>4</sup> *āya* generally means income but the import of *anāya* is not clear.

<sup>5</sup> *sanāya* is perhaps a mistake for *senāya*, i.e., tax paid towards the maintenance of an army.

<sup>6</sup> *Baḷlāḷas* are, like the *Heggades*, a sect of the Bant class (*South Canara Manual*, Vol. I, p. 159).

<sup>7</sup> *biṭṭi* generally means free labour.

<sup>8</sup> *biḍāra* is perhaps a mistake for *birāḍa*, a tax. (See *S. I. I.*, Vol. IV, Nos. 255 and 275).

Ll. 58ff. The witnesses for this (*transaction*) are : Atikāri (*Adhikārī*) Kāmṭa-seṭṭi, Chaṭa Bikra-seṭṭi, Sāmaṇi Saṃkara-seṭṭi Rāja-seṭṭi, Baḡge-seṭṭi's nephew Kēsaṇa, Mūlūra Beḷile, Bīrumāla Dugga and Baṇḍāri Birusāṃṇi. With the consent of all these, Saṃkāya-Sēnahōva of Maṃgalūr wrote this. Prosperity and good fortune to this charity deed !

Ll. 62ff. Imprecatory verses.

Ll. 65ff. Any one who violates this charity, if he is a Jaina, shall incur the sin of breaking the images of Gummatanātha of **Belagūla**, Chandranātha of **Kopana** and Nēmaśvara of **Ujjan-tagiri** and other Jaina idols ; if a Śaiva, he shall incur the sin of breaking a crore of liṅgas at **Parvata**, **Gōkarṇa** etc. ; if a Vaiṣṇava, he shall incur the sin of breaking a crore of images of Viṣṇu in (*holy*) places like **Tirumale**. May there be prosperity to the *Jina-śāsana* (doctrine). Fortune !

No. 9.—SAMOLI INSCRIPTION OF THE TIME OF SILADITYA ;  
[ VIKRAMA-SAMVAT ] 703.

BY R. R. HALDER, RAJPUTANA MUSEUM, AJMER.

This short inscription was found at Sāmōlī in the district of Bhōmaṭ in Mewār and is now preserved in the Rājputāna Museum at Ajmēr. Prof. D. R. Bhandarkar has already noticed it.<sup>1</sup> It consists of twelve well-engraved lines of writing, covering a space of about  $9\frac{1}{2}'' \times 10\frac{1}{2}''$ . The stone being slightly broken at the lower right corner, a portion of the inscription is missing. A few letters here and there are also indistinct. The average size of the letters is about  $\frac{2}{5}''$ . On account of its importance as the earliest inscription of the Guhila family of Mewār, a detailed notice of it is given below.

The **characters** belong to the northern class of alphabets of the acute-angled type. They are almost similar to those of the Udaipur inscription of Aparājita <sup>2</sup> of V. S. 718 (A. C. 661) though the *mātrās* of the vowels *ā*, *i*, *ī*, *u* and *ū* have different forms. The **language** is incorrect Sanskrit and the inscription is written very carelessly. As a result, the metres employed do not always stand scanning, and the meaning is also not quite clear in a few places. As regards **orthography**, the following points may be noted :—*n* is used for *ṇ* in *ripūnāṇi* (l. 4), and *ṇ* for *n* in *-jaṇānamndī-* (l. 5) and *-vāsiṇyā* (l. 9) ; the *anusvāra* is used for *m* in *-saṃbādham* (l. 8) and is redundant in *-jaṇānamndī-* (l. 5) and *=uṇtāditanim=āraṇya-* (l. 7) ; the *visarga* is omitted in *Harē* (l. 2), *-narapati* (l. 5) etc., while it is redundant in *-bhayāḥ* (l. 2), *-mahatarah* (l. 10) and *-janivaḥ* (l. 4) etc. ; *sandhi* is not observed in *-jīvanam āgara*<sup>2</sup> (l. 6), *-āgata ashtādaśa-* (l. 7) and other places, while it is wrongly used in *-nivaham mavālōkya* (l. 3). Other mistakes and irregularities are pointed out in the text and the footnotes thereto.

The contents of the inscription may be summed up as follows :—After the invocation of the goddess Chaṇḍikā (ll. 1-4), the epigraph praises **Śilāditya** as the conqueror of his foes (ll. 4-5). Ll. 5-7 record that a *Mahājana* (*community*) headed by **Jē[nta\*]ka** who had migrated from **Vaṭa-nagara**, started an *āgara* (? Skt *ākara*, a mine) in *Āraṇyakūpagiri* which became a source of livelihood for the people. In the next two lines it is said that the *Mahatara* (*Mahattara*) **Jēntaka**, at the command of the *Mahājana*, founded at the place a temple (*dēvakula*) of *Aranyavāsini* (*Durgā*), which was noted for its eighteen *vantālikas* (bards), hailing from different parts of the country and was always crowded with rich and wealthy people. The sense of the last two lines

<sup>1</sup> *PRAS.*, W.C., 1908-09, p. 48 and *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XXXIX, p. 189.

<sup>2</sup> Above, Vol. IV, pp. 29ff.

is not very clear, the inscription being broken at the corner. It appears, however, that the *Mahatara* Jēntaka, having seen the approach of the messengers of Yama entered fire (?) or committed suicide at the holy place of Dēbuvaka. The record ends with the date 703 *Katika* (*Ārṭtika*) di (?). Evidently the year belongs to the Mālava-Vikrama era and corresponds to 646 A.C.

As regards the personages mentioned in the inscription it would appear that Śilāditya was a scion of the Guhila family of Mewār. This inference is supported by the documents which have already been published—e.g., the Ātapura<sup>1</sup> inscription of Śaktikumāra, the inscription of Chitōr,<sup>2</sup> dated V. S. 1331, the Mt. Ābū<sup>3</sup> inscription of Samarasimha. As has been pointed out by Prof. D. R. Bhandarkar,<sup>4</sup> the name Śila in the Ātapura inscription stands for Śilāditya who was succeeded by Aparājita<sup>5</sup> whose inscription, dated V. S. 718 (A. C. 661), has been alluded to above. Nothing of importance is recorded about the *Mahatara* Jēntaka.

Vaṭanagara of the inscription is evidently the same as Vaṭa<sup>6</sup> (Vaṭapura) which has been identified with Vasantagaḍh<sup>7</sup> in Sirōhī State and is about 16 miles from Sāmōlī, where the inscription was found.

This inscription is of special interest, as it enables us to rectify a mistake made in connection with the pedigree of Gōha. Col. Tod supposed that Gōha (Guhila, Guhadatta, Guhāditya, etc., the founder of the Guhila family of Mewār, to which Śilāditya of this inscription belongs) descended from the last Śilāditya (Śilāditya VI) of Valabhīpura.<sup>8</sup> The Alinā copper-plate inscription<sup>9</sup> of the last Śilāditya of Valabhīpura dated in Gupta Samvat 447 (A. C. 766-67), would show that he was the ruler of the Valabhī kingdom at least up to the date of his inscription, i.e., the latter half of the eighth century A. C.<sup>10</sup> As the date of Śilāditya of the present inscription is Samvat 703 (A. C. 646), that of Gōha or Guhila, the fifth<sup>11</sup> predecessor from him, should fall in the latter half of the sixth century A. C., if an average reign of twenty years be assigned to each of the rulers preceding Śilāditya (of Mewār). Thus there is a difference of about two centuries between the reigns of Gōha (Guhila) of Mewār and the last Śilāditya of Valabhīpura. In other words, we might say that Gōha (Guhila) had established his rule in Mewār about two centuries prior to the break up of the Valabhī kingdom. Therefore Gōha could not have been the descendant of the last Śilāditya (Śilāditya VI) of Valabhīpura.<sup>12</sup>

<sup>1</sup> दशरामदे जगति भोजनद्वन्द्व-  
ब्रीहोपरजितनन्दनभट्टकरीरः

*Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XXXIX, p. 191.

<sup>2</sup> *Bhāvnagar Inscriptions*, p. 75, v. 18.

<sup>3</sup> *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XVI, p. 348, v. 14.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, Vol. XXXIX, p. 189.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. note 1 above where the kings are mentioned in succession.

<sup>6</sup> Above, Vol. IX, p. 12.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 191. Cf. also *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XXXIX, p. 187. [But Vasantagaḍh cannot be philologically derived from Vaṭanagara.—Ed.]

<sup>8</sup> *Tod's Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan* (W. Crooke's Edition), Vol. I, pp. 253-59.

<sup>9</sup> *C. I. I.*, Vol. III, pp. 171 ff. Dr. Fleet assigns the inscription to Śilāditya VII. In fact, Śilāditya II of his book (*vide* p. 41, introduction) did not actually reign at Valabhī (*Ind. Ant.*, Vol. V, p. 208 and Duff's *Chronology*, p. 308). Hence Śilāditya VII ought to be Śilāditya VI. [This is a matter of opinion only; cf. Kielhorn's *Northern* List No. 487, footnote 5.—Ed.]

<sup>10</sup> Duff's *Chronology of India*, p. 67. *Tod's Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan* (W. Crooke's Edition), Vol. I, p. 254, note 2.

<sup>11</sup> *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XXXIX, p. 188, Inscription No. IV.

<sup>12</sup> See *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. LVI, p. 169 74.





SAMOLI INSCRIPTION OF THE TIME OF SILADITYA—[VIKRAMA-SAMVAT] 703.



HIRANANDA SASTRI.

SCALE: SIX-TENTHS.

SURVEY OF INDIA, CALCUTTA.

TEXT.<sup>1</sup>

- 1 ओ<sup>2</sup> नमः ॥ पुनातु दिनक्रम(न्म)रोचिविच्छुरितपद्मपं(प)त्रच्छवि दुरितमाशु  
 श्च(च)ण्डिकापादह<sup>3</sup>-
- 2 यं ॥ हरे(रः)शिखिशिखाभकेमरस्थितमपास्तरज(जो) नूपुरा(र)भयाः(या)च्छुरित-  
 दिविभाव(दिविभागं<sup>4</sup>) स-
- 3 दाः(दा) [1\*] असुरोर(रः)स्थल(लं) शूलविनिर्भिन(न्न)मुहिरुधिरनिवहं ।  
 [समा]लोक्य केसरि(रो) वहति ति-
- 4 रश्च चापलममप्येव<sup>4</sup> भयमुद्विजनिवः<sup>5</sup> ॥ जयति विजयी रिपूनां(णां) देव-  
 द्विजगुरु-
- 5 जणा(ना)नन्दोः(नन्दो) [1\*] श्रीशीलादित्यो नरपति(तिः) स्वकुलाब(म्ब)र-  
 चन्द्रमा(माः) पृथ्वीः<sup>6</sup> ॥ जयति वट-
- 6 नगरविनिर्गतमहाजनं(नो) जे[न्त\*]कप्रमुखः(खः) । येनास्व लोकजीवनं  
 आ(नमा)गरमु-
- 7 सा(त्या)दितं(त)मारण्यकूपगिरीः(री)<sup>7</sup> । [1\*] नानादिदेशमागत<sup>8</sup> अष्टादशवेताल-  
 [क\*]लि(लो)कविख्यातः(तम्) । (।)
- 8 धनधान्यद्वष्टपुष्ट[प्र\*]विष्टजननित्यसंबाधं(धम्)॥ एभिर्गुणैर्यु(यु)तं तत्र [जेन्त]-
- 9 कमहतर(त्तरः) श्रीभरण्यवासिण्या(न्या) देवकुलं चक्रे महाजनादिष्ट(ष्टः) ।  
 देवो च प्र[ति]-
- 10 द्वाप्यमनुपालयतु<sup>9</sup> [चि]रं(रं) स च जेन्तकमहतर(त्तरः) आस . . . .
- 11 वस्त्रतद्रूता<sup>10</sup> समवेक्ष(क्ष्य) । देववके सिधा(द्वा)यत[ने] . . . .
- 12 लनं<sup>11</sup> प्रविष्ट(ष्टः) ॥ ७०० ३ ॥ कति[क]<sup>12</sup> [f] . .

<sup>1</sup> From the original stone.<sup>2</sup> Expressed by a symbol.<sup>3</sup> 'स्त्रि' is engraved above the line, while 'द' of 'पाद' is engraved just below 'पा'. The sign of 'आ' in 'पा' is bent downwards and is different from other 'आ' marks.<sup>4</sup> Read तिरश्चा चापलमप्येव ?<sup>5</sup> Read भयमुद्विजनिवः.<sup>6</sup> Read पृथ्वी. Probably the metre should be *Udgiti*.<sup>7</sup> The 'प' of 'कूप' is written below the line under 'गि'. If we read 'निर्गत' in place of 'विनिर्गत' (ln L 6) then the metre would be *Udgiti*.<sup>8</sup> Read नानादिदेशमागताष्टादश.<sup>9</sup> Read प्रतिष्ठामनु.<sup>10</sup> Read धेवस्त्रतद्रूतान्.<sup>11</sup> Probably स्वजनं was intended.<sup>12</sup> Read कार्त्तिक.

## No. 10.—PATNA MUSEUM PLATES OF RANABHANJA—THE YEAR 22.

BY R. D. BANERJI, M.A., BENARES.

These plates were sent to the late Dr. D. B. Spooner by Mr. L. E. B. Cadden-Ramsay, I.C.S., Political Agent, Orissa Feudatory States, in 1915-16.<sup>1</sup> A summary of the contents of the inscription they bear, as drawn by the late Rao Bahadur H. Krishna Sastri, was published in the *Annual Progress Report of the Eastern Circle* for that year.<sup>2</sup>

The plates are three in number and are joined together by a copper ring to which is attached a seal ( $1\frac{7}{8}'' \times 1\frac{3}{8}''$ ) which is ellipsoid in shape and bears the legend *Śrī-Raṇabhañjadēvasya*. They are identical in size and measure  $7\frac{1}{4}''$  by  $4\frac{1}{2}''$  each. The first plate is inscribed on the inner side only while the remaining two bear inscription on both the faces. There are altogether fifty-seven lines of writing on these three plates, which are distributed as follows : the first plate has eleven lines, the second, eleven lines on each side ; and the third, twelve lines on each side. The writing on the whole is neat and clear but each line abounds in mistakes due both to the composer and the engraver.

The record is written in incorrect **Sanskrit**. The first eleven lines of it are in verse. They contain four stanzas of which the first three are already known from the two Baudh plates of the same prince.<sup>3</sup> These verses contain an invocation to Śiva and the genealogy of the donor. This grant mentions two ancestors of Raṇabhañja, namely, Śilābhāñja and Śatrubhañja, while the Baudh grant (B) names only one, i.e., Śatrubhañja, his father. The object of the inscription is to record the grant of the village of Vāhiravādā which stood on the banks of the Mahānadī and was included in Dakṣiṇapali and the Khiṇjali-maṇḍala, to the god Vijaesara (Vijayēśvara), by Mahādēvi Vijyā (Vidyā) who was the daughter of the illustrious Rāṇaka Niyānāma. The god Vijaesara is evidently a *Śiva-linga* and the donor, the wife of Raṇabhañja himself. The document describes Raṇabhañja as a devout worshipper of Viṣṇu, the *tilaka* of the spotless Bhañja race and master of both the Khiṇjalis, who had obtained the five great 'śabdas' whose feet were worshipped by the Mahāsāmantas and who had obtained the blessing of the goddess Stam-bhēśvari.

Mahānadī is evidently the well-known river of that name in Orissa. Khiṇjali is mentioned in several Bhañja grants which have already been published. I am unable to identify the village Vāhiravādā.

The date of the inscription is, apparently, regular and is given in a half chronogram as *Indu-vāk-viśanti varisē* (= *Indu-vāk-vimśati-varshē*).<sup>4</sup> Ordinarily this expression would denote the year 2011 of some era but the Baudh plates (B) which are written in the same script as this inscription would show that it stands for 22, *vāk* being taken in the sense of 1.<sup>4</sup>

I edit the inscription from the original plates which were kindly placed at my disposal by Sir Edward Gait, I.C.S., K.C.I.E., the then Lieutenant-Governor of Bihār and Orissa.

<sup>1</sup> *Annual Report of the Archaeological Survey of India, Eastern Circle, 1915-16*, p. 7, para. 6.

<sup>2</sup> P. 4, para. 5.

<sup>3</sup> Above, Volume XII, pp. 323-28.

<sup>4</sup> [But *vāk* (*vāc*) does not mean 'one' though it might stand for 'four' as it is supposed to have four stages, namely *Parā*, *Paṭyanti*, *Madhyamī* and *Vaikhari*.—The reading, however, is not certain.—Ed.]

## TEXT.

[ Metres :—Vv. 1-3, *Vasantatilakā* ; v. 4, *Śārdūlavikrīḍitam* ; vv. 5-19, *Anuṣṭubh* ; and v. 20, *Pushpitāgrā*.]

## First Plate.

- 1 Ōm<sup>1</sup> Ōm svasti ' [ \* ] Saṁhāra-kāla-luṭabhug-vikarāla-ghōra-saṁbhrānta-kiṅka-
- 2 ra-ku(kṛi)tānta-[nitānta \* ]-bhinnam [ \* ] bhinn-Āndhak-āsura-mahā-gahan-ātpatra<sup>2</sup> |<sup>3</sup>  
taḍ=bhē(bhai)ravam Ha-
- 3 ra-vapu[ r\* ]-bham(bha)vataḥ prapātuḥ<sup>4</sup> || [ 1\* ] Durvvāra-vāraṇa-raṇa-pratipa[ksha-  
paksha-la\*]kshmi-haṭha-gra-
- 4 haṇa-suprasṛita-pratāpā[ ḥ |\* ] Bhañjan(ān)-narādhipatayō<sup>5</sup> va(ba)havau(vō) va  
(ba)bhu(bhū)vur=udbhūta-
- 5 yō(yē)=tra bhuva(vi) bhu(bhū)ri-sahasra-sa[ m \* ]khyā[ ḥ ] | [ 2 \* ] Tēshām kulē  
sakala-bhu(bhū)ta[ la \* ]-pā-
- 6 la-mauli(li)-māl-ārchchhit-āṁghri-jugalō<sup>6</sup> valavām<sup>7</sup>=nṛipō=bhu(bhū)t śrī-
- 7 Śilābhañjadēva[ ḥ\* ] pravakṛaṭa<sup>8</sup>-pauruṣa-raśmi-chakra-nirdānt-āri-
- 8 hṛidayō=sya pitā nṛipasya | [ 3 \* ] Gāmbhīryēṇa payōnidhi[ ḥ\* ]<sup>9</sup> thiratayā<sup>10</sup> bhu-  
(bhū)mi[ r \* ]=
- 9 va(ba)lēn-ā[ ni \* ]la[ s \* ]=tējōbhīr=yalanō<sup>11</sup>=ryamā samatayā ||<sup>12</sup> śubhrair=jjaśōbhi<sup>13</sup>  
śasī(śi) [ | \* ]
- 10 ātmā sarvva-jagana-mana<sup>14</sup>-sthitatayā datt-āvakāśō viyajāta<sup>15</sup> |<sup>16</sup> śrī-
- 11 Satrubhañja<sup>15</sup> ity=atula-dhī[ ḥ\* ] tasy=ātmaja[ ḥ\* ] Svayammbhu(Śambhu)vata(t) ||  
[ 4\* ] Anyō-nya-mada-

## Second Plate : First Side.

- 12 māna-milita<sup>16</sup>-samuddhata-nṛipa-chakra-chaturaṅga-va(ba)la-kshōbha-chali(li)ta-dha-
- 13 rā-maṇḍala-gaja-turaga-khura-nirddāraṇa-prasarad-atula-dhulī<sup>17</sup> -vitāna-saṁ-
- 14 chchhan[n\*]ja-jany-āṅgaṇa-ga[ja\*]-skandha-vēdikā-svayammbva(yamva)r-āyāt(ta-)||<sup>18</sup> pariṇīta-  
ja[ya\*]-lakshmi-

<sup>1</sup> Expressed by a symbol.

<sup>2</sup> Read °*atapatram*.

<sup>3</sup> Punctuation superfluous.

<sup>4</sup> Read *prapātu*.

<sup>5</sup> [ *Bhañj* ' *narādhipatayō*.—Ed.]

<sup>6</sup> Read -*āṅghri-yugalō*.

<sup>7</sup> Read *balavān*.

<sup>8</sup> Read *prakata*.

<sup>9</sup> Punctuation superfluous.

<sup>10</sup> Read *sthiratayā*.

<sup>11</sup> Read =*jvalanō*.

<sup>12</sup> Read °*yajāśōbhi*.

<sup>13</sup> Read °*jagan-manaḥ*.

<sup>14</sup> Read *vijaj-jātaḥ*.

<sup>15</sup> Read *Śatrubhañja*.

<sup>16</sup> Read °*milita*.

<sup>17</sup> Read °*dhulī*.

- 15 samānandita-paura-jana-ma(ā)nasaḥ śrīmad-Bhañja-bhu(bhū)patiḥ purād=Dhṛitipura-  
nā-  
16 mna[ ḥ\* ] | Śa(Śa)rad-amala-dhavaḥ-kara-yaśaḥ-paṭala-dhavalita-dig-va-  
17 danō(naḥ) :<sup>1</sup> Ā(A)navarata-pravṛit[ t\* ]a-samnārṇa<sup>2</sup> -dān-ā[ na \* ]ndita-sakala-janō(naḥ) :<sup>3</sup>  
18 Ā(A)ṇḍaja-vañ(m)sa-prabhavaḥ Parama-vaishṇava(vō) mātā-pitrī-pāda(d-ā)nu-  
19 dhyāta[ ḥ\* ] Bhañj-āmala-kula-tilaka Ubhaya-Khiñjal-ā(ly-a)dhipati[ ḥ \* ] sama-  
dhigata-  
20 pañcha-mahā-śavda(bdō) mā(ma)hāsāmanta-vandita-[charaṇaḥ\*] Stambhēśvarī-lav-  
dha(bdha)-vara-prasā-  
21 da[ ḥ\* ] :<sup>4</sup> Rāṇaka-śrī-Raṇabhañjadēva[ ḥ\* ] kuślī [,\*] Ih=aiva Khiñjali-maṇḍalē  
22 bhaviṣyad-rāja-rāja(ā)nak-āntataṅga<sup>5</sup>-kumāra(rā)mātya-mahāsāmanta-vrā(brā)hma-

*Second Plate : Second Side.*

- 23 ṇa-pradhānā[ n \* ] anyā[ m ]ś=cha daṇḍapāsika-chāṭa-bhāṭṭa<sup>6</sup> -vallabha-jātīnā<sup>7</sup> ||<sup>8</sup> ya-  
24 thārhi<sup>9</sup> mānāyati vaidhayati<sup>10</sup> samādisayati(śati) ch=ānyat ||<sup>11</sup> sarvvata[ ḥ \* ]  
si(śi)vam=a-  
25 smākaṁ | Viditam<sup>12</sup>=astu bhavatāḥ<sup>13</sup> Dakhi(kshi)ṇa-pa(pā)li-prativa(ba)ddha |<sup>14</sup>  
Mā(Ma)hānadi(dī)-vima-  
26 la-jala-vijī<sup>15</sup>-prakṣālita-taṭa-Vāhira(Bāhira)vāḍā-grāma[ś\*] :<sup>16</sup> chatu[ ḥ \* ]si(sī)mā-paryanta-  
[ḥ\*] :<sup>17</sup>  
27 nidhya upanidhī<sup>18</sup>-sahitaṁ(taḥ) mātā-pitrō-yatma-jaśa<sup>19</sup>-puṇy-ābhivṛiddhayē  
28 salila-dhārāḥ<sup>20</sup>-puraṣsarēṇa vidhinā | Śrī-Vijyā-māhādēvyā<sup>21</sup> :<sup>22</sup>  
29 [Para]ma-māhēśvarī(śvāryā) | Rāṇaka-Śrī-Niyārṇama-sutā(tayā) Vijaēsarāya<sup>23</sup>  
30 datvā vidhi-vidhānēna<sup>24</sup> sa-vidhēya-tāmvrā<sup>25</sup>-śāsana[ḥ] pratipāditō=yam || Pāraṁ-ma<sup>26</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Punctuation superfluous.

<sup>2</sup> Read °samnārṇa°.

<sup>3</sup> Read °antaraṅga°.

<sup>4</sup> Read °bhāṭṭa°.

<sup>5</sup> Read °jātyān.

<sup>6</sup> Punctuation superfluous.

<sup>7</sup> Read yathārham.

<sup>8</sup> Read bōdhayati.

<sup>9</sup> At first this was also written dī, which was erased and ta written in its place.

<sup>10</sup> Read bhavatīṁ.

<sup>11</sup> Read °tīchi°.

<sup>12</sup> Read °nidhy-upanidhi°.

<sup>13</sup> Read mātā-pitrō-ātmanas=cha yaśaḥ

<sup>14</sup> Read °dhārā°.

<sup>15</sup> Read °Vidyā-mahādēvyā.

<sup>16</sup> Read Vijayēśvarāya.

<sup>17</sup> °na is written below the line.

<sup>18</sup> Read tāmrā°.

<sup>19</sup> The ma is superfluous.

2 ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ अथ श्रीकृष्णार्जुनसंवादे श्रीकृष्ण उवाच ॥ २ ॥  
 ४ अथ श्रीकृष्ण उवाच ॥ ४ ॥ अथ श्रीकृष्ण उवाच ॥ ४ ॥ अथ श्रीकृष्ण उवाच ॥ ४ ॥  
 ६ अथ श्रीकृष्ण उवाच ॥ ६ ॥ अथ श्रीकृष्ण उवाच ॥ ६ ॥ अथ श्रीकृष्ण उवाच ॥ ६ ॥  
 ८ अथ श्रीकृष्ण उवाच ॥ ८ ॥ अथ श्रीकृष्ण उवाच ॥ ८ ॥ अथ श्रीकृष्ण उवाच ॥ ८ ॥  
 १० अथ श्रीकृष्ण उवाच ॥ १० ॥ अथ श्रीकृष्ण उवाच ॥ १० ॥ अथ श्रीकृष्ण उवाच ॥ १० ॥

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12 ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ अथ श्रीकृष्ण उवाच ॥ १२ ॥ अथ श्रीकृष्ण उवाच ॥ १२ ॥  
 14 अथ श्रीकृष्ण उवाच ॥ १४ ॥ अथ श्रीकृष्ण उवाच ॥ १४ ॥ अथ श्रीकृष्ण उवाच ॥ १४ ॥  
 16 अथ श्रीकृष्ण उवाच ॥ १६ ॥ अथ श्रीकृष्ण उवाच ॥ १६ ॥ अथ श्रीकृष्ण उवाच ॥ १६ ॥  
 18 अथ श्रीकृष्ण उवाच ॥ १८ ॥ अथ श्रीकृष्ण उवाच ॥ १८ ॥ अथ श्रीकृष्ण उवाच ॥ १८ ॥  
 20 अथ श्रीकृष्ण उवाच ॥ २० ॥ अथ श्रीकृष्ण उवाच ॥ २० ॥ अथ श्रीकृष्ण उवाच ॥ २० ॥  
 22 अथ श्रीकृष्ण उवाच ॥ २२ ॥ अथ श्रीकृष्ण उवाच ॥ २२ ॥ अथ श्रीकृष्ण उवाच ॥ २२ ॥

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24 अथ श्रीकृष्ण उवाच ॥ २४ ॥ अथ श्रीकृष्ण उवाच ॥ २४ ॥ अथ श्रीकृष्ण उवाच ॥ २४ ॥  
 26 अथ श्रीकृष्ण उवाच ॥ २६ ॥ अथ श्रीकृष्ण उवाच ॥ २६ ॥ अथ श्रीकृष्ण उवाच ॥ २६ ॥  
 28 अथ श्रीकृष्ण उवाच ॥ २८ ॥ अथ श्रीकृष्ण उवाच ॥ २८ ॥ अथ श्रीकृष्ण उवाच ॥ २८ ॥  
 30 अथ श्रीकृष्ण उवाच ॥ ३० ॥ अथ श्रीकृष्ण उवाच ॥ ३० ॥ अथ श्रीकृष्ण उवाच ॥ ३० ॥  
 32 अथ श्रीकृष्ण उवाच ॥ ३२ ॥ अथ श्रीकृष्ण उवाच ॥ ३२ ॥ अथ श्रीकृष्ण उवाच ॥ ३२ ॥

- 34 ~~...~~ 34  
 36 ~~...~~ 36  
 38 ~~...~~ 38  
 40 ~~...~~ 40  
 42 ~~...~~ 42  
 44 ~~...~~ 44

iii

- 46 ~~...~~ 46  
 48 ~~...~~ 48  
 50 ~~...~~ 50  
 52 ~~...~~ 52  
 54 ~~...~~ 54  
 56 ~~...~~ 56

- 31 parya-kulāvatārēṇa ya(yā)vad-Vē<sup>1</sup> sarvva-vachanēṇa yathā dharma(mā)[h<sup>2</sup>]  
prārōhamti ||<sup>3</sup> sā(yā)
- 32 sanē(tē)na pratinā(tanō)si sahasrēṇa virōhasi [l<sup>4</sup>] ēva[m<sup>5</sup>] vu(bn)ddhā(dhvā) par-  
ārdhhañ=cha paratō
- 33 varṁś-āvatārēṇa(ṇ=ā)py=asmad-antarōr(uṇarōdhād)=dharṁma-gauravā[ch<sup>6</sup>]=cha na kēnachi  
smalp-āpi<sup>7</sup>

*Third Plate : First Side.*

- 34 vā(bā)dhā karaṇiyā | tathā ch=au(ch=ō)ktam dharṁma-śāstrēṣhu [[<sup>8</sup>]] Phāla-kṛiṣṭā-  
[m<sup>9</sup>] mahi[m<sup>10</sup>] dadyā[t<sup>11</sup>]=sa-
- 35 vija(jā)m sasya-mēdinī[m<sup>12</sup>](śālinīm) | yāva[t<sup>13</sup>] su(sū)ryakṛit-ālōka<sup>14</sup> tāva[t<sup>15</sup>]=svargga<sup>16</sup>  
mahiyatē | [l<sup>17</sup> 5\*]
- 36 Vēda-vām-asmayōji<sup>18</sup> vadanti rishi<sup>19</sup> -dēvatāḥ[j<sup>20</sup>] bhu(bhū)mi-hartrā<sup>21</sup> tath=ānyach=  
cha ā-
- 37 hō mā hara mā hara , [l<sup>22</sup> 6\*] Yath=āpsu patitam Śakra tē(tai)la-vindu[r<sup>23</sup>]=  
visa[r<sup>24</sup>]ppati |
- 38 ēvaṁ bhu(bhū)mi- kṛitam dānam sasya(syē) sasyē prārōhati | [l<sup>25</sup> 7\*] Ādityō  
Varu-
- 39 ṇō Vishṇu[r<sup>26</sup>]=Vra(Bra)hmā Sōma(mō) Hutāśana[h<sup>27</sup> \*] | Śulapāṇis<sup>28</sup>=tu bhagavām<sup>29</sup>  
a-
- 40 bhinandranti<sup>30</sup> bhu(bhū)mida[m<sup>31</sup>] | [l<sup>32</sup> 8\*] Āsphōṭaya[m<sup>33</sup>]ti pitarah pravalgaya(ga)-
- 41 nti pitāmaha(hāḥ) | Bhu(Bhū)mi-dātā kulē jātā(taḥ) sa mē trātā bhavishya-  
ti | [l<sup>34</sup> 9\*] Rvvahu-<sup>35</sup>
- 42 bhir=vvasudhā dat[t<sup>36</sup>]ā rājānaiḥ<sup>37</sup> Sagar-ādibhi[h<sup>38</sup> \*]<sup>39</sup> | [l<sup>40</sup> 10\*] Mā-ru(bhū)d=  
aphala-samkā ya paradatēṣhu
- 43 pālitam<sup>41</sup> | yasya-yasya yadā bhu(bhū)mi[s<sup>42</sup>]=tasya tasya tadā pṇala[m<sup>43</sup>]  
[l<sup>44</sup> 11\*] Sva-dat[t<sup>45</sup>]ā[m<sup>46</sup>]=para-dat[t<sup>47</sup>]ā-

<sup>1</sup> Read *Vēd-ārtha*.<sup>2</sup> [Punctuation superfluous. Cf. above, Vol. XII, p. 324, l. 22 & f.n.—Ed.]<sup>3</sup> Read *kēnachit svalp-āpi*.<sup>4</sup> Read °lōka°<sup>5</sup> Read °svarggē.<sup>6</sup> Read *vēda-vāk-smṛitayōjivā*.<sup>7</sup> Read *rishi*°.<sup>8</sup> Read *haritā*. [See above Vol. XII, p. 325, l. 40.—Ed.]<sup>9</sup> Read *Śulapāṇis*.<sup>10</sup> Read *bhagavān*.<sup>11</sup> Read *abhinandanti*.<sup>12</sup> Read *Bahubhir*°<sup>13</sup> Read *rājābhiḥ*.<sup>14</sup> The second half of this verse has been omitted. [The second half has been put as the second half of the next verse, the latter half of which (viz., *śāśānāt phalam* etc.) has been omitted.—Ed.]<sup>15</sup> Read *bhūd=aphala-samkā vaḥ para-dat=ēṣ pāṇivāḥ*.



- 44 m-vā yō harēd-va(rēta va)sundharām | sa viśṭhāyā[m\*] kṛimir=bhu(bhū)tvā  
pitribhi[s\*]-saha pachyatē | [12\*] Hiraṇya-
- 45 m-ekam gām-ekam(kām) bhu(bhū)mim<sup>1</sup>=apy-arddham-aṅgulam | Hara[n\*]-nara-  
kam=āyāti yāvad=ābhuti(bhūta)-

*Third Plate : Second Side.*

- 46 samplavaḥ(vaṁ) | [13\*] Bhu(Bhū)mi[m\*] yaḥ pratigrihṇāti yach(ś)-cha bhu-  
(bhū)mi[m\*] prayachchhati | ubhau tau puṇya-karmṇau
- 47 niyatau<sup>2</sup> s[v\*]argga-gāminau | [14\*] Haratō hārayatō bhu(bhū)-mā[m\*]  
manda-vu(bu)ddhiḥ=tamā(mō)-vṛitaḥ | sa va(ba)-
- 48 ddhō vārupaiḥ pāsai[s\*]=tirya[g\*]-yōnī(ni)shu jāyatō [15\*] Mā pār-  
thivaḥ(va) kadāchi[d= dhi\*] vra(bra)hmasvaṁ mana-
- 49 sād=api(sā api) | aṁgē padham<sup>3</sup>=abhaisva(sha)jyam ōtat hālāhalam viśam  
[16\*] Ā(Na) viśa[m\*] viśam=ity=ā-
- 50 hu[h\*] vra(bra)hmasvaṁ viśa[m\*] uchyatō | viśam=ēkākinō(nam) hantī  
vra(bra)hmasvaṁ putra-pautri(tra)ka[m\*] | [17\*] Lauha-chu(chū)-
- 51 rṇṇ-āsava<sup>4</sup>-chu(chū)rṇṇaṁ-cha viśaṁ-cha jarayō[n\*]-naraḥ | vra(bra)hmasvaṁ tri-  
shu lōkēshu kaḥ pumām(n)
- 52 jaramājavaramiśyati<sup>5</sup> | [18\*] Vājapēya-sahasrāṇi<sup>6</sup> y-Āśvamēdha-śatāni
- 53 cha | gavām-kōṭi-pradattāna<sup>7</sup> bhu(bhū)mi-harttā na āyudhyati<sup>8</sup> | [19\*]  
Iti kamala-dal-ā-
- 54 mvu(bu)-vi[m\*]du-lōlā[m\*] āriyam<sup>9</sup>=anuchintya shantasya<sup>10</sup>-jivitaṁ-cha sakalam=idam-  
udāhṛitaṁ-cha
- 55 vudaiḥ<sup>11</sup> na hi purushaiḥ paraki(ki)ttā(rtta)yō vilōpyā[h\*] | [20\*] Vijaya-  
rājyē samvva(samvat)sar=ēndu-vvāg-vi-<sup>12</sup>
- 56 santi-varisē(varshē) uktirnnāṁ<sup>13</sup>-cha vapika(k)-suvarṇpakāra-Sivapāga(gēna) Pāṇḍi-suta  
(tēna) [1\*] mahā-
- 57 rājakiya-mudrēpati<sup>14</sup> ||

<sup>1</sup> Read *bhūmā*.

<sup>2</sup> Read *niyatam*.

<sup>3</sup> Read *param=abha*.

<sup>4</sup> Read *āśma*.

<sup>5</sup> Read *jarayishyati*.

<sup>6</sup> Read *-sahasrāṇi=Āśvamēdha-śatāna*.

<sup>7</sup> Read *-pradinēna*.

<sup>8</sup> Read *buddhyati*.

<sup>9</sup> Read *āriyam*.

<sup>10</sup> Read *manushya*.

<sup>11</sup> Read *śuddhā*.

<sup>12</sup> [See note 4, p. 100 above—Ed.]

<sup>13</sup> Read *uktirnnāṁ*.

<sup>14</sup> [Possibly meant for *mudrāṇi lūchhitam=iti*.—Ed.]

## No. 11.—THE KADAMBAPADRAKA GRANT OF NARAVARMAN—V.S. 1167.

By R. D. BANERJI, M.A.<sup>1</sup>

The inscription edited below is incised on **two thick plates** of copper which weigh 15 lbs. 7 oz. and now belong to Mr. J. J. Gardar of Nepean Sea Road, Bombay, who purchased them at some place in Central India, and lent to me in November, 1920, for publication. There are two holes in each of these plates through which they appear to have been once tied together by means of two rings like many of the Valabhī plates which have now been published. There is **no seal** attached to them but a kneeling figure of **Garuḍa**, holding a snake in each hand, is incised at the proper right corner of the second plate, as is seen in the Dharampurī plates<sup>2</sup> of Vākpatirāja of V.S. 1031, the Ujjain plates<sup>3</sup> of Bhōjadēva of V.S. 1078 and the Māndhātā plates<sup>4</sup> of Jayasinha I of V.S. 1112. The plates measure  $12\frac{1}{8}$ " by 8" each and are incised on one side only. In all, there are twenty-nine lines of writing on them, seventeen being incised on the first plate and twelve on the second. The average height of letters is  $\frac{3}{8}$ ".

The language of the inscription is Sanskrit. With the exception of two verses at the beginning, two in the middle and five imprecatory stanzas at the end, the record is written in prose. It refers itself to the reign of the *Paramabhaṭṭāraka-Mahārājādhirāja-Paramēśvara*, the illustrious **Naravarmadēva**, who meditated on the feet of the *P. M. P.*, the illustrious Udayādityadēva, who meditated on the feet of the *P. M. P.*, the illustrious Bhōjadēva, who meditated on the feet of the *P. M. P.*, Sindhurājadēva.

The object of the charter is to register the grant of certain pieces of land given on different occasions to a Brāhmaṇa named Dvivēda Āsā(śā)dhara, son of Nārāyaṇa of the Kātyāyana-gōtra and Mādhyandina-śākhā. The gift-land consisted of twenty *nivarttanās* given by the king Naravarmadēva himself on the **12th day of the bright half of Māgha in the year 1167** (=Thursday, the 3rd February, 1110 A.D.) when this grant was issued. The charter also refers to a previous grant of twenty *halas* of land, out of which ten *halas* were given by the *Mahāmaṇḍalika* Rājadēva on the **15th day of the bright half of Kārttika in the year 1154**, four *halas* by his daughter-in-law,<sup>5</sup> the illustrious Mahādēvī, probably on the same date, and six *halas* by the king himself, on the **15th day of the bright half of Pausa in the year 1159** on the occasion of the Bhūtaraprana (Bhūtarātri ?)-*parvan*.<sup>6</sup> Thus, **three different dates** are mentioned in the inscription, probably, with a view to bringing together all the grants of land made to the donee up to the time when the present charter was issued. The gift-land lay in the village of Kadambapadraka which was in possession of the *Mahāmaṇḍalika* Rājya(ja)dēva and was situated in the *pratijāgarāṇaka* of Mandāraka in the Upēndrapura-maṇḍala. The measurement was called a plough measure (*hala*) which was of ninety-six rods (*daṇḍas*). The length of the *daṇḍa* in Mālwā at this period is unknown. A town named Upēndrapura is mentioned in the Ranod inscription<sup>7</sup> of the Mattamayūra ascetics which seems to

<sup>1</sup> [This article was taken up for publication after the sad and premature demise of the author and was revised by Dr. N. P. Chakravarti, Assistant Superintendent for Epigraphy.—Ed.]

<sup>2</sup> *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. VI, pp. 51 f.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 53 f.

<sup>4</sup> Above, Vol. III, pp. 48 ff.

<sup>5</sup> [Probably *vadhū* is to be taken in the sense of 'wife' here.—N. P. C.]

<sup>6</sup> [The correct reading seems to be *Udagayana-parvasi*. According to Swamikannu Pillai's *Indian Epimerie*, the *udagayana saṁkrānti* took place on Wednesday, the 24th December, A.D. 1102, i.e., two days before the date given in the present grant.—N. P. C.]

<sup>7</sup> Above, Vol. I, pp. 354 ff.

have given its name to the *maṇḍala*. I am unable to identify either Kadambapadraka or Mandāraka. The grant was issued under the sign manual of the *Mahārāja* Naravarmadēva and the *Dūtaka* of the charter was Ṭhakkura Kēsava.

### TEXT.<sup>1</sup>

[Metres :—Vv. 1, 2, 4 and 5, Anushtubh ; Vv. 3 and 7, Vasantatilakā ; V. 6, Indravajrā ; V. 8, Śālinī ; V. 9, Pushpitāgrā.]

#### First Plate.

- 1 Ōm<sup>2</sup> svasti || Śrī[r\*]=jayō=bhyudayaś=cha || Jayati [Vyō]makēśō=sau yaḥ sarggāya vi  
(bi)bharttri(rtti) tām | aindavīm śirasā lēkhām jagad-vijāṅga sa kṛitīm<sup>3</sup> || [1||\*]
- 2 Tanvantu vaḥ Smar-ārātēḥ kalyāṇam=amśam jaṭāḥ | kalp-ānta-samay-ādāta-<sup>4</sup>taḍid-  
valaya-piṅgalāḥ || [2||\*] Paramabhadvā(ṭṭā)ra-ka-Mahārāja-
- 3 dhirāja-Paramēśvara-śrī-Sindhurājadēva-vā(pā)dānudhyāta-Parana(ma)bhaṭṭāraka-Mahā-  
rājādhirāja-Paramēśvara-śrī-Bhōjadēva-pādānudhyā-
- 4 ta-Va(Pa)ramabhaṭṭāraka-Mahārājādhirāja-Paramēśvara-śrī-Udayādityadēva-padānudhy-  
āta-Paramabhaṭṭāraka-Mahārājādhirāja-Pa-
- 5 ramēśvara-śrī-Naravarmmadēvaḥ kuśali || Upē[\*n]drapura-maṇḍalē Mandāraka-  
pratijāgarapakē Mahāmaṇḍalika-śrī-Rājya(ja)dēva-bhuyya(jya)-
- 6 māna-Kadamva(mba)padraka-grāmē samupagatāsnamasta<sup>5</sup>-rāja-purushān=Vrā(Brā)-  
hmaṇ-āntarān<sup>6</sup>=[pra]tinivāsi-paṭṭakila-janapadādī[m\*]ś=cha vō(bō)- | <sup>7</sup>
- 7 dhayaty=astu vaḥ samviditam || yathā śrīmad-Dhār-āvasthitair=asmābhiḥ snātvā  
charācchara-gurum bhagavantam Bhavānīpatim samabhyā[r\*]chchya samśā-
- 8 rasy=āsaratā[m] dṛiṣṭvā | Tathā hi | Vāt-ābhra-vibhramam=idam vasudh-ādhipaty-  
am=[ā]pāta-mātra-madhurō vishay-ōpabhōgaḥ | prāṇās=trī | <sup>7</sup>
- 9 ṇ-āgra-jala-vindu-samā narāṇām dharmāḥ sakḥā param=ahō para-lōka-yānē || [3||\*]  
Bhramat-samśāra-chakr-āgra-dhār-ādhārām=imām śriyam [ | \* ]
- 10 prāpya yē na dadus=tēśhām paśchāttāpaḥ param phalam || [4||\*] Iti jagatō  
vina[śva]ram svarūpam=ākālayy=ādṛiṣṭa-phalam=amgikṛitya chandr-ārkk-ā-
- 11 ṛṇṇava-kṣhiti-samakālam yāvat=parayā bha[ktyā] | <sup>8</sup> śrī-Madhyadēś-āntahpāti-Śrīṅga-  
pura-sthāna-vinirggata-Kātyāyana-gōtra-Kātyāyana-
- 12 Kapila-Viśva(śvā)mitr-ēti-trī-pravara-Mādhyamdina-śākh-ādhyāyi-Vrā(Brā)hmaṇa-Dvir(Dvi)  
vēda-Nārāyaṇa-pautra-Dikṣhita-Dēvasa(śa)rmma-suta-Dvivēda-<sup>9</sup>Āśā(śā)dharāya
- 13 uparilikhita-yā(grā)mātshaṇṇavati-parvva-daṁ(da)ṇḍa-prāmāṇyēna bhēya<sup>9</sup> dvichatvā-  
rian(rimśan)-mādhyakēna bhū-nivarttana-vimśati-pratya | <sup>9</sup> | Bhū-
- 14 hala-vi[m\*]śatiḥ param=atō<sup>10</sup> Mahāmaṇḍalika-śrī-Rājadēvēna chatuḥpa[m\*]chāsa  
(śa)d-adhika-śat-aikādāśa-samvatsarē Kā[r\*]ttika-śudi-parichada-

<sup>1</sup> From the original plates and impressions.

<sup>2</sup> Expressed by a symbol.

<sup>3</sup> Read *jagad-vij-ānkur-ākṛitīm*.

<sup>4</sup> Read *-samay-ōddāma-*.

<sup>5</sup> Read *°gatānsamasta-*.

<sup>6</sup> Read *-ōttarān-*.

<sup>7</sup> *Daṇḍa* unnecessary.

<sup>8</sup> *Daṇḍa* unnecessary.

<sup>9</sup> [Probably we have to read *mēyā* ..... *viśvatiḥ* *prattā*.—N. P. C.]

<sup>10</sup> Read *pāraś* | *śat*.



निःसनीमाहलप्रतिगो

साधुपितृयासन्नगृष्टा

राभिपद्विन्नरपादेयैवा

नतश्चोसोमायंवेतमुष्टा

पान्तोयद्याउक्तवदुमि

वन्नानिपुगनपविष्टोना

कुलकम्पुवास्त्रदाह्यदि

पउपाननससर्वानन

चउपयैन्नासदिरण्यमा

यज्ञोतिद्वयैरासात्राना

यज्ञोतिद्वयैरासात्राना

यज्ञोतिद्वयैरासात्राना

यज्ञोतिद्वयैरासात्राना

यज्ञोतिद्वयैरासात्राना

यज्ञोतिद्वयैरासात्राना

यज्ञोतिद्वयैरासात्राना

तयसर्वोदायसमेता

पुद्वान्तमन्त्रानि

पुद्वान्तमन्त्रानि

पुद्वान्तमन्त्रानि

पुद्वान्तमन्त्रानि

पुद्वान्तमन्त्रानि

पुद्वान्तमन्त्रानि

पुद्वान्तमन्त्रानि



सुहृत्तैयंमहागजरीनसुवर्म्मेदेवग्रा॥

- 15 śyā[m] sva-bhuktō kasyitam vāddhāpita(?) -bhū-hala-daśakati-(bhi)rvvā<sup>1</sup> Mahāmaṇ-  
ḍalika-śrī-Rājadēva-vadhū-śrī-Mahādēvyā pū[r]vva-kalpē ta(da)-<sup>2</sup>  
16 tvān(ttā) bhū-hala-chatusṭayam | Tathā asmābhir=**ēkōnashashṭy-adhika-śat-**  
**i(ai)kādaśaka-samvatsarē Pausha-śudi-**  
17 **parṇchadaśyā[m]** samjāta-bhūtaraprana-parvvaṇi kasyitatvam<sup>3</sup> (?) bhū-hala-shaṭka  
[m\*] | Ēvam yathāyatham bhū-hala-vi[m\*]śa-<sup>4</sup>

## Second Plate.

- 18 tiḥ sa-simā-tṛiṇa-[yū]ti-gōchara-paryantā sa-hiraṇya-bhāga-hō(bhō)ga-sōparikara-sarvv-  
ādāya-samētā  
19 sāvā(mātā)-pitrōr-ātmanas=cha puṇya-yaśō-bhidri(vṛi)ddhayē śāsanēn=ōdaka-pūrvva-  
katayā pradattā [ | \* ] Tē(Ta)n-matvā tan-ni-  
20 vāsi-paṭṭakila-janapadair=yathādiyamāna-bhāga-bhōga-kara-hiraṇy-ādikē(ka)m=ājñā-śra-  
vana=vidhēyair=bhu(bhū)tvā sarvvam=amushmē(shmai) samupa-  
21 nētavyam | Śāmānyam ch=aitat=puṇya-phalam vu(bu)ddhvā asmaḍamsajair=any[ai]r=  
api bhāvi-bhōktrībhir=asmat-p[r\*]adatta-dha[r\*]mm-ādāyō=yam=anumantavyah | <sup>4</sup>  
22 pālaniyas=scha | Uktam cha | Va(Ba)hubhir=[vva]sudhā bhuktā rājabhiḥ Sagar-  
ādibhiḥ | yaśya yaśya yadā bhu(bhū)mis=tasya tasya tadā phala[m] [ | <sup>5</sup> || \* ]  
Yān=iha  
23 dattāni purā narēndrair=ddānāni dharmm-ārtha-yaśaskarāṇi | nirmālya-vānti-pratimāni  
tāni kō nāma sādhuḥ punar=ādadita [ | 6 || \* ] Asma-  
24 t-kula-k[r\*]jamam=udāram=udāharadbhir=anyas=cha dānam=idam=abhy anumōdanīyam  
Laksh[m\*]yās=taḍid-valaya-vudvuda(budbuda)-chaṇchalāyā dānam phalam para-  
sha(ya)śaḥ-  
25 paripālanam cha [ | 7 || \* ] Sarvvān=ēta(tān)=hā(bhā)vinaḥ pārvhivēmdrām=nripō nūyō<sup>6</sup>  
yāchatē Sa(Rā)mabhadraḥ | śā(sā)māny=ōyam dharma-sētur=nripāṇām kālē kālē  
pā-  
26 lanīyō bhavadbhiḥ [ | 8 || \* ] Iti kamala-dal-āmvu(bu)-vind[u\*]-lōlām śriyam=anuchitra  
(ntyā) manushya-jīvitam cha || <sup>7</sup>  
27 sakalam=idam=udāh[ri]ta sa vudha<sup>8</sup> na hi purumai(śaiḥ) para-kīrttayō vilōpyā iti ||  
[9|| \* ] Samvat 1167  
28 Māgha-(ś)udi 12 [ | \* ] Dū° || **Thak[k\*]ura-śrī-Kōśavaḥ** || Maṅgalaṁ mahā-śrīḥ ||  
cha śrīḥ ||  
29 Svastō-yaṁ mahārāja-śrī-Naravarmmadēvasya ||

## TRANSLATION.

Om Hail ! (*May there be*) prosperity, victory and success. Let that Vyōmakēśa (Śiva), who, for the sake of the creation, holds on his head the crescent of the moon which has a form like the shoot from the seed of the Universe, be victorious (1). May the matted hair of the Enemy of the god of love (i.e., Śiva) which is reddish like the fierce circles of lightning at the time

<sup>1</sup> [I would read *sva-bhuktō(ktau) kalpitatvād=dāpita[m\*] bhū-hala-daśaka[m\*] tīdhāt* | *Tathā*).—N. P. C.]

<sup>2</sup> [I would read *pū[r\*]vva-kalp[i]yatvāt*.—N. P. C.]

<sup>3</sup> [The reading appears to be °nū(*U*)dagapra(ya)na-parvvaṇi *Kasyi(lpi)tatva(tvā)ḥ*.—N. P. C.]

<sup>4</sup> *Danḍa* unnecessary.

<sup>5</sup> Read *asmat-vamśajair*.

<sup>6</sup> Read *bhūyō bhūyō*.

<sup>7</sup> Only one *danḍa* is required.

<sup>8</sup> Read *udāhṛitān-cha buddhvā*.

of the end of the world, grant you prosperity incessantly (2).<sup>1</sup> The *Paramabhaṭṭāraka-Mahārājā-dhirāja-Paramēśvara* the illustrious *Naravarmadēva*, who meditated on the feet of the *P. M. P.* the illustrious *Udayādityadēva*, who meditated on the feet of the *P. M. P.* the illustrious *Sindhurājadēva*, being in good health, informs the various officers, Brāhmaṇas and others, Paṭṭakilas and inhabitants of towns, assembled in the village of *Kadambapadraka* which is being enjoyed by the *Mahāmaṇḍalika śrī-Rājadēva* (and which is situated) in the *prati-jāgarāṇaka* of *Mandāraka* of the *Upēndrapura-maṇḍala*. Let it be known to you that while residing at Dhārā, having bathed and worshipped Bhagavān (*Śiva*) the ruler of the world and the lord of Bhavānī and having perceived the worthlessness of the world—as it is said, “This ownership of the earth is (as transient) as clouds moved by the wind, the enjoyment of property is sweet only for the time being, lives (of men) are (as unstable) as drops of water on the points (of blades) of grass, Dharma is the only friend in the journey to the other world (3). Those who, having obtained this fortune which is as unstable as the sharp edge of the moving wheel of the world, do not give it (to the needy or the deserving), for them the only result will be great repentance afterwards (4). So, having ascertained the transient nature of the world and having agreed to the result of fate, with great devotion, twenty *nivartanas* of land, measured by the rod of ninety-six *parvas* in length (?) and forty-two in breadth (?) from the above-mentioned village<sup>1</sup> are given by us, to last as long as the sun, the moon, the earth and the sea, to the Brāhmaṇa *Dvivēda Āśādihara*, son of *Dikshita Dēvaśarman* and grandson of *Dvivēda Nārāyaṇa*, who was an immigrant from *Śringapura*, situated in the Middle-country (*Madhyadēśa*), who belonged to the *Kātyāyana-gōtra* with the three *pravaras* *Kātyāyana*, *Kapila* and *Viśvāmitra*, (and) who was a student of the *Mādhyandina-śākhā*. Also<sup>2</sup> twenty plough measures of land were given by the *Mahāmaṇḍalika*, the illustrious *Rājadēva* on the 15th day of the bright half of *Kārtika*, in the year 1154, from land being enjoyed by him and therefore retailed (? *vaddhā-pita*); also ten plough measures given by the illustrious *Mahādēvī*, the daughter-in-law of the *Mahāmaṇḍalika*, the illustrious *Rājadēva*. So also four plough measures given in a previous *kalpa*; so also six plough measures given by us on the occasion of the festival of *Bhūtaraprana*(?) on the 15th day of the bright half of *Pausa*, in the year 1159. Thus, the twenty plough measures of land, in its regular order, with its boundaries, with rights of grass, *yūti* and pasturage, with rights of mining gold, of shares and easements with additional taxes and with all other income is given for the increase of the merit and fame of our own self and of our father and mother, by means of a (copper)-plate after a previous libation of water. Having regard to this, all shares, easements, taxes, rights of gold mining, etc., hitherto given by the Paṭṭakilas and the townsmen inhabiting the place, are to be given to him (the donee). (Here follow the usual formula and five imprecatory verses.) The year 1167, the 12th day of the bright half of *Māgha*. The *Dūtaka* (of this grant was) *Thakkura śrī-Kēśava*. My own sign manual “the *Mahārāja*, the illustrious *Naravarmadēva*.”

<sup>1</sup> [The passage may be translated as ‘twenty *nivartanas* of land from the abovementioned village out of the forty-two (*nivartanas*) measured by the rod of ninety-six *parvas*,’ etc.—N. P. C.]

<sup>2</sup> [The meaning of the word *kalpita* as used in the text is not certain. This term also occurs in the grants of *Bhōjadēva* of V.S. 1078 (*Ind. Ant.*, Vol. VI, p. 53) and *Yaśōvarmadēva* of V.S. 1192 (*Ibid.*, Vol. XIX, p. 349). Possibly it has to be taken in the sense of ‘settled’ or ‘fixed’. I would translate ll. 14-17 as follows:—

Additional twenty plough measures of land (were also granted). Out of these ten *halas* of land were caused to be given in his own *bhukti* by the *Mahāmaṇḍalika* the illustrious *Rājadēva* on .....from (his own) settlement (?), four *halas* of land (were given) by the illustrious *Mahādēvī*, the wife of the *Mahāmaṇḍalika* the illustrious *Rājadēva*, from her previous settlement (?) and six *halas* of land (are now given) by us on .....on the occasion of the *udagayana-parvas* from (our) settlement (?).—N. P. C.]

No. 12.—TWO SINDA INSCRIPTIONS FROM BENACHAMATTI, SAKA 1088 AND  
SAKA 1109.

BY R. S. PANCHAMUKHI, M.A., OOTACAMUND.

These two records are engraved on a stone tablet lying in front of the temple of *Īśvara* at Benachamatti in the Gajēndragāḍ State which is included in the *Ron taluk* of the Dhārwar district. They are edited here for the first time from the estampages secured by me under the orders of the Government Epigraphist for India in the year 1927-28.<sup>1</sup> The first inscription covers an area of 2' 9½" by 2' 3½", the size of each letter being about ½" in height. The area occupied by the second inscription is 2' 3½" by 6½" and the size of each letter is roughly ¼". The latter is the continuation of the former. I am calling them A and B respectively for the sake of convenience. They are in a fairly good state of preservation excepting that some letters of B are lost at the right corner of the lower edge where the stone is broken.

Both the inscriptions are **Kannaḍa** records of the **twelfth century** of the Christian era. In A the long *ī* is distinguished from the short one by an inside coil at the top as in *pāṭhina* (l. 1), *Chāṇḍaladēvi* (l. 19), etc.; the *u*-sign at times has a short downward bend by the side of the letter with which it is connected as, for example, in *Chāvuṇḍa* (l. 10), *sudhā* (l. 11), etc.; the *ai*-sign is represented, in some cases, by a horizontal line at the bottom of the letter concerned with a curve on the left side and, in others, by a cursive upward stroke shooting from the bottom to the right end, as in *Mandara-dhairyaṃ* (l. 18), *sainyaṃ* (l. 26); the letters *m*, *y* and *v* have very often been represented by their special cursive forms as in *baḷiyiṃ* (l. 6), *y-aḷiyam* (l. 7), and *dēv-āyatanamumam* (l. 37) respectively; the *anusāra* is written by the side of the letter connected therewith in four places, i.e., in *yenisidam* (l. 19), *kulaṃgaḷim* (l. 29), *dēv-āyatanamumam* (l. 37) and *gāmbhīrya* (l. 42). The **Orthography** is generally free from errors. It may be noted that in A the engraver has filled up the space left at the end of lines 3, 6, 10, 12, 13, 20, 24, 35, 38, 41, 46, 49, 51 and 52 by the addition of a superfluous mark resembling the English letter S. In B the consonant *ḷa* is, in several places, wrongly used for *ḷa*, as in *pāḷa* (ll. 3, 5 and 6), *kaḷagaḷoḷu* (l. 5), etc., and the letter *te* in *Nōhilana teradi* (l. 4) is written like *ḷe*.

Excepting the first verse which is in Sanskrit, A is written in Kannaḍa poetry interspersed with prose in ll. 8, 10, 31, 32, 36-38 and 44-54. B is also composed in Kannaḍa poetry with a prose passage in ll. 10-16.

After the usual invocation to Śambhu (i.e., Śiva), A describes the ocean (ll. 2-3), the Jambūdvīpa and the Mēru mountain (ll. 3-4), the Kumtala country and its past kings (ll. 4-5) and the reigning sovereign **Kaḷachurya Bijjaṇa** who is stated to have wrested the royal glory from the (Western) Chāḷukyas (ll. 5-7). It then introduces Bijjaṇa's son-in-law **Chāvuṇḍa-nṛipa** of the Sinda family whose pedigree is given in lines 8-29. Further it tells us that, of the seven brothers—namely **Ācharasa**, **Nāka**, **Siriga**, **Dāsa**, **Dāvana**, **Chāvuṇḍa** and **Chāva**—**Chāvuṇḍa** was a powerful warrior and that to Ācharasa was born **Bammarasa**, a moon to the ocean of the Sinda family. His brother was the renowned **Ācharasa (II)**, son of **Siriga** (or **Singa**). To him were born **Perma** by queen **Mahadēvi** and **Chāvuṇḍa (II)** by queen **Chāṇḍaladēvi**. Of **Chāvuṇḍa** it is recorded that when the **Hoysala king** met him with a huge army, the Sinda prince destroyed its general together with other opponents and captured his elephants in large numbers. Again when the **Pāṇḍya chieftain Kāmanṛipa** waged a war against **Chāvuṇḍa** with a view to conquer him, he met with a crushing defeat and had to flee away for life in the forest. When **Chāvuṇḍa** was ruling his territory from his capital at **Erambarage** (which is compared in lines 28-31 to the celestial **Amarāvati**, **Ayōdhyā**, **Mathurā** and **Ujjayinī**), the **Fifty Families of Telligas** extolled in ll. 32-36 constructed the

<sup>1</sup> Nos. 31 and 32 of 1927-28 of the Bombay Karnatak Collection. App. E. A. R. on S. I. Epigraphy, 1927-28.



temple of **Telligēśvara** in the south-east quarter of that town and made certain gifts to it after laving the feet of **Chāṇḍramauḷi-vratin** of the Lākūḷa sect, the *āchārya* of **Simhēśvara-maṭha**,<sup>1</sup> on the day specified in ll. 46-47 during the reign of the **Kaḷachurya king Tribhuvanamalla Bijjaṇadēva** (ll. 44-45). Lines 38-44 give the genealogy of the *Āchārya* **Chāṇḍramauḷi-vratin** as follows :—**Vigrahēśvara-vratin**, his disciple **Yogēśvara-yati** and his disciple **Chāṇḍramauḷi-yati**.

Inscription B introduces, after prayer to the god **Telligēśvara**, mentioned above, **Vira-Bijjaḷa** and **Vira-Vikrama** as sons of **Chāvuṇḍa** by **Sridēvi** and describes the elder of the two, namely **Vira-Bijjaḷa**, as a great devotee of **Śiva** like **Nāmbi**<sup>2</sup> and **Ohila**<sup>3</sup> and a scholar like **Bāṇa** (ll. 1-4). His wife was **Tripurādēvi** (l. 5). His brother **Vikrama** was a munificent donor and an invincible warrior looking majestic as if he was a *Chakravartin* (ll. 6-9). In lines 10-12, the two brothers are mentioned with the usual titles, *Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara*, *Sāhasōttuṅga*, etc., as ruling over **Kisukāḍu-70**, **Bāgaḍage-70**, **Keḷavaḍi-300**, **Nareyaṅgal-12** and **Kariviḍi-3[0]**. At the request of the Fifty Telligas and a certain **Murhaya-Sāhaṇi** they are stated to have granted some land to the temple of **Telligēśvara** (ll. 13-16) on the date specified in lines 12 and 13.

The details of the date given in A are :—**Śaka 1088**, **Vyaya**, **Pushya amāvāsyā**, **Monday**, **Uttarāyaṇa-saṁkrānti** and **vyatipāta**. They are not quite regular. The **Pushya amāvāsyā** ended on Sunday at '95 and the **Makara** (**Uttarāyaṇa**)-**saṁkrānti** had occurred on **Mārgaśirsha** ba. 30, Saturday (24th December). The date intended probably was **Monday**, **23rd January**, **A.D. 1167** which was a day of **Kumbha-saṁkrānti** in **Uttarāyaṇa**.

The details of the date given in inscription B are :—**Śaka 1109**, the cyclic year **Plavaṅga**, ..... **chaturdaśi**, **Monday**, **Saṁkrānti**. According to **Swamikannu Pillai's Ephemeris**, **chaturdaśi** combined with a **saṁkrānti** did not fall on Monday in any of the months of **Plavaṅga**. But, for **Chaitra** śu. 14 which was a day of **Mēsha-saṁkramaṇa**, the details would be correct except for the week day which was a Tuesday. The nearest equivalent would, therefore, be **24th March**, **A.D. 1187**.

The two inscriptions under publication are important inasmuch as they furnish in unambiguous phraseology the genealogy of the **Sinda** princes of **Erambarage** from **Āchugi I** down to **Vira-Bijjaṇa** and **Vira-Vikramāditya**, sons of **Chāvuṇḍa II**. Inscription A reveals for the first time that **Perma** and **Chāvuṇḍa** were the sons of **Ācharasa II** from different mothers, viz., **Mahādēvi** and **Chāṇḍaladēvi** respectively and thus supplements the information contained in the **Ron** record<sup>4</sup> of **A.D. 1180**, where they are represented apparently as full brothers. The genealogy given in A is in perfect agreement with the one gathered from the published records<sup>5</sup> of the family, although an ambiguous verse in the **Paṭṭadakal** inscription<sup>6</sup> "*āṭana tammaṁ Siṁga-maḥi-taḷa-patiy=āṭana=āṭmajāṭam bhuvana-khyāṭam.....negal=Ācharasaṁ*" had led **Fleet**<sup>7</sup> to introduce another **Siṁgi (II)** and make him the father of **Āchugi (II)**. **Dr. Barnett**

<sup>1</sup> This *maṭha* was, apparently, named after **Simha**, a brother of **Āchugi I**.

<sup>2</sup> **Nāmbi** probably refers to **Sundaramūrti-Nayanār** who was known as **Nāmbi-Ārūrār**. See **Tamil Lexicon S. V.**

<sup>3</sup> **Ohila** was a great devotee of the god **Sōmanātha** in **Saurāshtra**. The story of his guileless devotion is narrated in the 43rd and 44th chapters of the *Basava-Purāṇam* of **Bhimakavi**.

<sup>4</sup> Above Vol. XIX, p. 227.

<sup>5</sup> So far, only eight records of the **Erambarage** branch of the **Sinda** princes are critically edited : **J. B. R. A. S.**, Vol. XI, pp. 224-30 ; 239-42 ; 247-49 ; 253-55 ; 259-66 ; 274-75 (re-edited in *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. IX, p. 96) and above Vols. XV, p. 109 and XIX, p. 227.

<sup>6</sup> **J. B. R. A. S.**, Vol. XI, p. 257.

<sup>7</sup> *The Dynasties of the Kanarese Districts*, p. 573. Subsequently the mistake was rectified by him in a footnote on p. 266 of *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XXX.

who has written an excellent note on the Sinda chiefs in this journal<sup>1</sup>, evidently followed Fleet in this respect ; but, while editing the Sūdi inscription of the Kaḷachurya king Saṁka-madēva, he felt the incongruity of this interpretation and remarked "it seems to confuse Āchugi's brother Siṅgi I with the former's son Siṅghi II."<sup>2</sup> Since the Ron record edited by the same scholar states clearly that Ācharasa II was the son of Siṅga, a brother of Āchugi I, he has recognised this difference as being only a variant version of the pedigree recorded in the Sūdi inscription mentioned above. But it may be remarked that all the epigraphs, if understood properly with the aid of A, yield the same genealogy. The verse in praise of Āchugi II in A runs as follows :—

ātan=anujātan=avani-khyātaṁ śrī-Siṁha-jā-  
tan=ūddhata-ripu-saṁghāta-hati-niratan=  
enisidan=ātata-tējaṁ pratāpadim̐=Ācharasaṁ (ll. 13-14)

meaning that his (i.e., Bammarasa's) brother was the powerful Ācharasa who was the son of Siṁha. This statement is fully borne out by the relevant portion in the Sūdi inscription, viz.,<sup>3</sup> *vistarīsidud=alli Siṁgarasaṁ=ātmajan=Āchugimaṇḍalēśvaraṁ* (l. 24), i.e., among them (alli) Siṁgarasa's son was Āchugimaṇḍalēśvara. As Ācharasa II is thus described in unmistakable terms to be the son of Siṁha without introducing any prince of the latter name before, excepting Āchugi (I)'s brother Siṅga, there is no other alternative but to suppose that he was the son of this Siṅga and consequently a cousin of Bammarasa I. The expression 'ātana tammaṁ' must, therefore, be taken to mean his brother, i.e., the brother of Āchugi I.

We know from inscriptions at Arasibiḍi<sup>4</sup> and Kaṭgēri<sup>5</sup> that Chāvunḍa had married three queens, namely, Dēmaladēvi, Lakshmādēvi and Siriyādēvi, of whom the last two were the daughters of the Kaḷachurya King Bijjala. He begot on Dēmaladēvi, Āchugi III and Permaḍi III and on Siriyādēvi, Vira-Vijjaṇa and Vira-Vikrama, the donors of inscription B. Vira-Vijjaṇa's queen was Tripurādēvi. The portion containing the name of Vikrama's wife is unfortunately broken off.

The Sinda chiefs who played an important part in the mediaeval history of Kaṇṇāṭaka began their political career as feudatories of the Western Chāḷukyas of Kalyāṇi during the last quarter of the 11th century A. D. The first prince of the family was Āchugi I who is described in the Sūdi and Niḍgundi<sup>6</sup> inscriptions with the significant epithet "āḍimaṇḍalika," thereby indicating that with him came into being the rule of the Sinda princes of Erambarage. From the fact that he is extolled as *Vikramādityana kaṭṭid-alagu*<sup>7</sup> (a sharpened sword-edge of Vikramāditya VI) and that his son Bammarasa was, according to an epigraph at Savaḍi,<sup>8</sup> ruling Kisukāḍu and other provinces in the Chāḷukya Vikrama year 7 (A. D. 1083), the origin of the family as a ruling power may be placed in or about A. D. 1076, the year of Vikramāditya's accession to the throne. It is therefore not possible that the *Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara* Siṅgaṇṇa-dēva of a Niḍgundi inscription<sup>9</sup> who was governing Kisukāḍu-70 in A. D. 1076 under Bhuvanaikamaliadēva, could be identical with the Sinda prince Siṅga I as originally suggested by Fleet<sup>10</sup> and still accepted by Dr. Barnett in his note referred to above. There is no evidence to show that Āchugi's brother Siṅga ruled at all whereas it can be definitely inferred from

<sup>1</sup> Above Vol. XIV, pp. 268ff.

<sup>2</sup> Above Vol. XV, pp. 109.

<sup>3</sup> The expression *vistarīsidudalli* has been taken as one word and translated "In dwelling upon the excellence etc." See *ibid.*, p. 112. But it has to be split up into two words as *vistarīsiduda* and *alli*.

<sup>4</sup> No. 37 of the Bombay Karnatak Collection for 1928-29. <sup>5</sup> No. 151 of the same collection.

<sup>6</sup> No. 205 of the same collection for 1926-27.

<sup>7</sup> No. 35 of the same collection for 1927-28 and the Sūdi inscription mentioned above.

<sup>8</sup> No. 2 of the same collection for 1927-28.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid* No. 202 for 1927-28.

<sup>10</sup> *Dyn. Kan. Dist.*, p. 574. But he has doubted this identification in *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XXX, p. 266.

inscription A that Bammarasa, the son and successor of Āchugi I was succeeded by Āchugi II, the son of Simha to whom there is only a passing reference.<sup>1</sup> Bammarasa had, according to the Pattadakal record, won the favour of the reigning sovereign, i.e., Vikramāditya VI and received from him a position of honour and rank in the State. His territory comprised Kisukāḍu-70 and Narayaṅgal-12.<sup>2</sup> He appears to have died without issue as, otherwise, the Sinda throne would not have passed to the descendants of his uncle Simha. From an inscription at Arasibīdi<sup>3</sup> which states that *Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara* [Ava]rarasa was administering under Vikramāditya VI, Kisukāḍu-70 and Karivīdi-30 in A.D. 1087, it may be surmised that at the time of Bammarasa's death, Āchugi II was either a minor or not powerful enough to assert the rights of his family. Subsequently, however, he appears to have acquired possession of his hereditary provinces through the favour of Vikramāditya, which, thereafter, continued in his line till the end. Only three dates<sup>4</sup>, viz., 1113-14, 1121-22 and 1125-26 are known for Āchugi II who defeated, for his master Vikramāditya VI, the Pāṇḍya, Hoysaḷa and other rebels. Thus it may be stated that the three chiefs from Āchugi I to Āchugi II were the feudatories of the Western Chāḷukya emperor Vikramāditya VI and took a prominent part in the conquests of their overlord.

After Āchugi II, the two brothers Permāḍi<sup>5</sup> and Chāvūṇḍa II held the Sinda territory as subordinates of Perma-Jagadēkamalla and Trailōkyamalla Taila III, respectively. It was during the latter's reign that the Chāḷukya dominions were usurped by Kaḷachurya Bijjaḷa who is described in A as having dragged by force the lady of the Chāḷukya sovereignty. Permāḍi is stated in his inscriptions to have vanquished Kuḷaśēkhara, besieged and decapitated Chātṭa pursued Jayakēśi and seized the royal power of Hoysaḷa Vishnuvardhana.<sup>6</sup> The Ron inscription adds that he "captured the Hoysaḷa king's elephants as well as his treasure-waggon." In the present record (A), however, the defeat of the Hoysaḷa king's army and the capture of his elephants are attributed to Chāvūṇḍa II for whom we have several dates ranging from A. D. 1151<sup>7</sup> to 1160-70. Besides, he is credited with having put to flight a certain Pāṇḍya chieftain named Kāmadēva. These events must be different from those noticed above<sup>8</sup>. For, it is natural that the Hoysaḷa prince should again have risen in vengeance against the declining power of the Chāḷukyas and tried to assert independence and that the Sindas, as faithful servants of the Chāḷukyas, should have checked his aggression on the battle-field. And Kāmadēva, evidently Kāmadēva of Uchchangi, otherwise known as Vijayapāṇḍyadēva, who succeeded his brother Vira-Pāṇḍya sometime after A.D. 1148<sup>9</sup> and lived on up to at least A.D. 1189<sup>10</sup>, was for a longer period a contemporary of Chāvūṇḍa II than of his elder brother Permāḍi. It is worth noticing that Chāvūṇḍa, who had abstained from acknowledging the Kaḷachurya suzerainty in his earlier records dated before A. D. 1163,<sup>11</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Not a single known inscription has described Simha independently except as the father of Ācharasa II. This would suggest that he never enjoyed any power.

<sup>2</sup> Savaḍi inscription referred to above.

<sup>3</sup> No. 35 of the Bombay Karnatak Collection for 1928-29.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid* No. 219 for 1926-27, *J. B. R. A. S.*, Vol. XI, p. 247 and No. 218 of the B. K. collection for 1926-27.

<sup>5</sup> An inscription at Kōḍikop bearing an impossible date in Śaka 872 introduces this prince as a feudatory of Vikramāditya VI. Since we know that his father Āchugi was living in A. D. 1125-26, the last year of Vikramāditya, it may be presumed that he ruled conjointly with his father or his father must have died in that year so that Permāḍi, who succeeded him, could become Vikramāditya's feudal chief.

<sup>6</sup> *Dyn. Kan. Dist.*, p. 575.

<sup>7</sup> No. 37 of the Bombay Karnatak collection for 1928-29.

<sup>8</sup> These exploits of Chāvūṇḍa do not find mention in other records of himself or of his sons. Excepting the defeat of Kāmadēva which is nowhere ascribed to Permāḍi, the rest might as well be supposed to have been achieved by Chāvūṇḍa in conjunction with his elder brother as the latter is known to have accomplished similar acts.

<sup>9</sup> *Mysore and Coorg from Inscriptions*, p. 151.

<sup>10</sup> *Dyn. Kan. Dist.*, p. 466.

<sup>11</sup> No. 147 of the B. K. collection for 1928-29. See also *Dyn. Kan. Dist.*, p. 462.

though it was well established by then, had begun to recognise it by A. D. 1167, as is evident from the preamble to the grant portion of inscription A. It appears that he was holding the reins of government in conjunction with his sons Āchugi and Permādi in A. D. 1163 when the Pattadakal inscription was engraved. It is not known under what circumstances the Sinda chiefdom passed to the sons of Siriyādēvi after the death of Chāvūṇḍa II.

Chāvūṇḍa's rule must have ended in A. D. 1169-70, for we find his sons Vira-Bijjaṇa and Vira-Vikrama ruling over Kisukāḍu-70, Bāgaḍage-70, and Keḷavaḍi-300 in A. D. 1170 as recorded in the Aihole inscription<sup>1</sup> dated in Virōdhin, corresponding to the 94th year of the Chāḷukya Vikrama era, whereas an epigraph from Hirēmaṇṇūr<sup>2</sup> bearing the date Śaka 1091 (A.D. 1169) introduces Chāvūṇḍa as a donor of some gift. Further the Harti inscription<sup>3</sup> of Vira-Bijjaṇa dated in the cyclic year Vijaya falling in his 7th year fixes the date of his accession sometime in Virōdhin. Vira-Bijjaṇa and Vira-Vikrama appear to have ruled conjointly as is shown by the preamble to inscription B which states that both the princes were ruling together from their capital at Erambarage. This is corroborated by other inscriptions also.<sup>4</sup> There are, however, a few epigraphs<sup>5</sup> which were issued by the two brothers independently of each other. But this does not vitiate the above conclusion inasmuch as joint rulers could make donations separately as well. There are reasons to hold that the **two princes** were **very young** when they were **invested with power**. Two inscriptions at Nidgundi<sup>6</sup> with dates in Śaka 1094 (A. D. 1172) and Śaka 1096 (A. D. 1174) style them as *kumāras* and introduce *paṭṭamahādēvi* Siriyādēvi as making some gifts in conjunction with her two children. This seems to indicate that their mother Siriyādēvi was actually governing the Sinda territory as **regent** during their minority.<sup>7</sup> That they were children then, as said above, is rendered quite probable by a record<sup>8</sup> of A. D. 1220 in which year Vikramāditya was still holding the Sinda dominions under the Yādava Siṃgaṇaḍēva, after a rule of not less than fifty years.

It is significant to note that inscription B **does not mention any overlord** but proceeds to describe the two brothers straightaway as if they were independent rulers. After the Kaḷachurya usurpation which lasted for twenty years, the Sindas retransferred their allegiance to the Chāḷukyas under Sōmēśvara IV, who revived his ancestral sovereignty in A. D. 1183. Sometime after this date, the Chāḷukya territory appears to have again become a prey to the constant attacks of the Yādavas of Dēvagiri on the north and the Hoysaḷas of Dvārasa-mudra on the south. During this period of turmoil, the **Sinda princes** must have **declared independence**. This is indicated by the expression "*Chakravarti-padavi-patiy=inn=īlan=enal=esevan=urvi-khyāta-yasam Vira-Vikramāvanipālām*" in inscription B which means that the powerful Vikrama was then the fit person to bear the title of *Chakravartin*. But this independence did not continue long, for we find from the Amnigere and Gadag inscriptions of Yādava Bhillamaḍēva, dated respectively in A. D. 1189 and 1191, that the Yādava king held the country south of the Malaprabhā and Kṛishṇā as well as the northern provinces,<sup>9</sup> thus precluding the possibility of the Sindas remaining free and unassailed. Since Jaitugi counts his reign from the latter date, **Bhillama** must have died in that year probably in an encounter with Vira-Ballāḷa. This is proved by the existence of Vira-Ballāḷa's record at Gadag

<sup>1</sup> J. B. R. A. S., Vol. XI, pp. 274. It was re-edited more correctly in *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. IX, p. 96.

<sup>2</sup> No. 4 of the Bombay Karnatak collection for 1927-28.

<sup>3</sup> No. 57 of 1926-27 of the same collection.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, No. 221 of 1926-27.

<sup>5</sup> Ron and Harti inscriptions mentioned above.

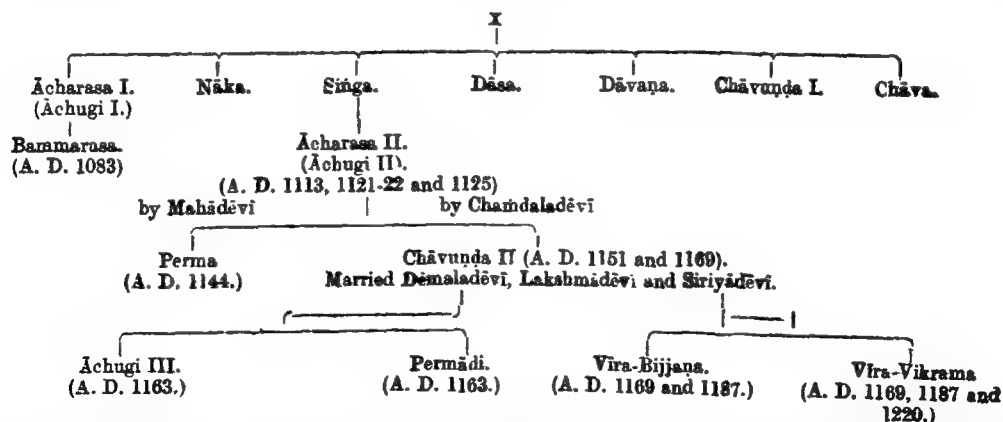
<sup>6</sup> Nos. 208 and 205 of 1926-27 of the Bombay Karnatak collection.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, No. 35 of 1927-28.

<sup>8</sup> *Dyn. Kan. Dist.*, p. 504.

itself dated in A. D. 1192 and by the statements contained in his Anṇigere inscription<sup>1</sup> of A. D. 1202 representing Bhīllama as having been killed in the fight. The Harihar inscription of his son Narasimha II adds to his father's conquests the capture of all the strongholds between Soratūr, Erambarage, Kuṛugōḍ, Gutti, Bellittage, etc.<sup>2</sup> From this it is evident that Vira-Ballāḷa had successfully wrested from the Yādava king some portion of the territory which the latter had taken from Sōmēśvara IV, subjugated the Sindas of Erambarage and made them pay homage to his banner. The Yādavas, however, were not keeping quiet all this while. They were biding time to reclaim the lost country. Jaitugi's son Siṃgaṇadēva who carried his conquests far and wide led an expedition against the Hoysaḷas during the last days of Vira-Ballāḷa and snatched back from him the portion of land lying to the south of the Kṛishṇā and Malaprabhā and even extended his arms farther south as is proved by his inscription at Baḷagāmve<sup>3</sup> in Mysore, dated in A. D. 1215. This event must have taken place in or about A. D. 1210 for, an epigraph at Dōṇi<sup>4</sup> states that the sixteenth year of Siṃgaṇadēva's entry into that tract corresponded to the cyclic year Vijaya (A. D. 1226). This statement proves that the Yādavas were once again in possession of the territory under contest which must have included Kisukāḍu-70 of the Sindas. That the Sinda chiefs became their subordinates and continued to acknowledge their suzerainty till the end is clear from a stone record at Kaḷakappanagudda<sup>5</sup> in which the Sinda Vikramāditya figures as a feudatory of Siṃgaṇadēva in the latter's 21st regnal year falling in Vikrama, i.e., A. D. 1220. Nine years later, we find Mahāpradhāna Vāsudēva-Nāyaka ruling under the orders of Siṃhaṇa, Erambarage "which had caused itself to be called the capital of Kisukāḍu-70"<sup>6</sup>. Presumably the Sinda prince Vikrama had passed away between A. D. 1220 and 1229 and his territory was then annexed to the Yādava kingdom, thus ending the rule of the Sinda chiefs after a glorious career of about 150 years.

From the facts set forth in the foregoing pages, a revised genealogy of the Sinda princes with dates is reconstructed below for the sake of ready reference.



<sup>1</sup> No. 193 of the Bombay Karnatak collection for 1923-29. Among the descriptive epithets applied to Vira-Ballāḷa in this record occurs the expression "*Bhīllama-bala-jaladhi-baḍavāṇaḷam*".

<sup>2</sup> *Dyn. Kan. Dist.*, p. 504.

<sup>3</sup> *Dyn. Kan. Dist.*, p. 505.

<sup>4</sup> No. 79 of 1927-28 of the Bombay Karnatak collection. See also *A. S. R.*, 1927-28, p. 141.


<sup>5</sup> No. 35 of the Bombay Karnatak collection for 1927-28.



<sup>6</sup> No. 200 of 1926-27 of the same collection.

The following places and subdivisions are mentioned in the two records :—the celestial Amarāvati, Āyōdhye, Madhure, Ujjayinī, **Erambarāpuram**, **Kallūru**, **Kisukādu-70**, **Bāgaḍage-70**, **Keḷavaḍi-300**, **Nareyaṁgal-12** and **Kariviḍi-30**. Of these **Kallūru** is the modern village of that name near Mushigēri in the Ron taluk of the Dhārwar district. On **Kisukādu-70** and **Kariviḍi-30** see Fleet's exhaustive note in *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. XXX, pp. 259 ff. **Bāgaḍage-70** comprised a portion of the modern **Bāgalkot** taluk in the Bijāpur district with **Bāgaḍage**, i.e., **Bāgalkot** as its chief town. **Keḷavaḍi-300** derived its name from its chief place Keḷavaḍi which is at present a small village in the Bādāmi taluk of the Bijāpur district. **Nareyaṁgal-12** was a small circle of villages with its headquarters at **Nareyaṁgal**, i.e., the modern **Naregal** in the Ron taluk of the Dhārwar district. The remaining places are too well known to require any remarks.

## TEXT.


## A

- 1 **Namas=tuṁga-siraś-chumbi-chandra-chāmara-chāravē** | **traiḷōkya-nagar-ārambha-mūḷa-**  
**stambhāya Sambhavē** || [1||\*] **Vṛi** || **Vilūṭhat-pāṭhina-puchchha- sphurita-**
- 2 **gurutar - āsphālana - sphāra-kōḷāha-niryyad-dhairyya-nakra-krama-kashaṇa-nishamṇ - ōru-**  
**nirēbha-bhikṣich-chaḷa-hast-āghāta-masta-**
- 3 **prakaṭhiṇa-kamaṭha-bhrānti-nirmukta-mukt-āviḷa-vichī-samchayam** **kaṇṇ=esedudu**  
**bahaḷa-dhvāna-raudram samudram** || [2||\*] **Tad-vārdhhi-chāru-pa-(S)**
- 4 **rikhā-sadvaḷayitam=enisi nāḍe sogayisuvudu Jambūdvipa-v=alli chārṇ-kubhṛid-**  
**varan=ene nāḍe Mēru-giri rāṁjisugum** || [3||\*] **Ā Kanak-ādri-**
- 5 **ya teṁkal=Bhū-kāmtā-kuntaḷ-ōpamam Kuntaḷav=am̐t=ā kām̐ta-vishaya-rakshakar=**  
**Kaliyugadalli puṭṭidar=Chāḷukyar** || [4||\*] **Ā Chāḷukya-mahī-**
- 6 **śarim̐de baḷiyim̐ durvṛittaram̐ geldu dhātrī-chakram̐ nere bam̐ṇisal-bhuja-**  
**baḷ-āvasṭambhadim̐ Kumtal-ōrvvi-chaṁchach-chatur-āṁganā-kacha-samākarsā(S)-**
- 7 **graham̐ Bijjapa-śrī-chakrēśvaran=opputirpan=adaṭam̐ vidvisṭa-viddrāvanam̐** ||  
[5||\*] **Tach-chakravarttiy=aḷiyam sach-charitam̐ viśada-kīrtti Chāvum̐ḍa-nṛipam̐**  
**nicchata-**
- 8 **gali Kali-kāla-viyach-charan=ene pesarin=esevan=ī vasumatiyoḷ** || [6||\*]  
**Ā mahānubhāvan=anvay-āvatārav=em̐t=em̐ḍade**  **Āchu-**
- 9 **gi-bhūmi-pālana sah-ōdarar=apratima-pratāpa-bhūp-āchaḷa-vajra-dam̐dar=ene Nāka-**  
**nṛipam̐ nṛipa-tuṁga Simgan=ātm-ōchita-vikra-**
- 10 **maṁ negaḷda Dāsarasaṁ kali Dāvanam̐ jaya-śrī-chatura-priyam̐ vibhu**  
**Chavun̐darasaṁ guṇi Chāva-bhūbhujam̐** || [7||\*] **Avaroḷage** || **Ahit-ōdyad(S)-**
- 11 **baḷa-jāḷakam̐ kadanadoḷ=māṛāntu tāḡal=mahā-mahimam̐ sūlige-goṇḍu kōpad-odaviṁ**  
**kom̐d=ikki vidvisṭaram̐ mahiyol=tāḷdi sudh-ām-**
- 12 **śu-nirmmaḷa-yaśaḷ-śrī-kāmtiyam̐ saṁtataṁ mahaniyam̐ kali Chaum̐ḍa-bhūpan=**  
**esevam̐ śrī-Sir̐ḍa-vaṁś-ōdbhavam̐** || [8||\*] **Ka** || **Avaroḷag=Āchara-saṁg=u**  
**(S)-**
- 13 **dbhavidisan=adhika-pratāpa-nidhi jaya-lakshmi-pravaṇam̐ Barhmarasaṁ kīrtti-viḷasaṁ**  
**Sir̐ḍa-vārdhhi-varddhana-chaṁdram̐** || [9||\*] **Ātan=anujātan=avani-khyātam̐(S)**
- 14 **śrī-Sir̐ḍa-jātan=uddhata-ripu-saṁghāta-hati-niratan=enisidan=ata-tējam̐ pra-**  
**tāpadim̐d=Ācharasaṁ** || [10||\*] **Ant=enisid=Ācha-bhūpana kām̐te**
- 15 **dayā-vaṁte, bhāgya-vaṁte nitāntam̐ sānte naya-vaṁte sat-kuḷa-vaṁte**  
**Mahādōviy=em̐ba pesarim̐d=esevaḷ** || [11||\*] **Vṛi** || **Ācha-mahibhujam̐gava-**  
**esev=ā**

- 16 Mahadēvigav-udgha-vikramam khē-chara-kirtti sambhavisidam kali Permma-  
mahidharām manōjñ-ācharaṇam raṇ-ōddhata-viruddha-nṛipāḷaka-jāla-bā-
- 17 likā-lōchana-nirggaḷad-vimala-lōla-jal-āṇḍa-saṅgar-āṅgaṇam || [12||\*] Ā Permma-  
bhūpan-anujam rūpa-Manōjam manōjña-guṇa-gaṇa-yu-
- 18 ktaṁ vēpita-ripu-nṛipa-hṛiday-ālāpaṁ Chāvumṇḍa-maṇḍal-ēsaṁ negaḷdam || [13||\*]  
Mandara-dhairyaṁ ripu-nṛipa-brīṇḍa-sīraḷ-kamduḷ-āḷi-kēḷi-ka-
- 19 ḷitaṁ Chāṇḍaladēvī-sutan=amaḷ-ēṇḍ-ūjvaḷa-kirttiy=eniḷdam Chāvumṇḍam || [14||\*]  
Munis=ābhīḷa-nṛipāḷa-mēgha-paṭaḷa-prōṭsāra-jham-
- 20 jhāṇḷam vanadhi-prāvṛita-kirtti sāmḍra-vikirat-kālēya-pāp-āṇḍhakāra-nirās-ōjvaḷa  
chāmḍra-didhiti lasad-dānaṁ budha-brāta(S)-
- 21 dausthya-nag-ōbbhēdana-vajrav=āḷal=eṣevaṁ Chāvumṇḍa-bhūpāḷakam || [15||\*]  
Samar-ōdyad-baḷa-Hoyasaḷa-kshitipa-sēn-āṇikam=ōṇḍ-āḷi
- 22 vikramadiṁ tāge parākrama-krama-yutaṁ Simḍ-ānvay-āmbhōdhi-chāmḍraman=  
ērvvaṭṭi tad-īṣanaṁ maledaraṁ koṇḍ=ugra-matta-ē-
- 23 bha-saṅghaman=ādaṁ piḍidaṁ pratāpa-tapanam Chāvumṇḍa-bhūpāḷakam || [16||\*]  
Vṛi || Bhūrgaḷam śaraṇ-buguvaraṁ bhayad=uṭṭudan=ikki nilu-
- 24 varaṁ vāruvadimḍ-iḷa-taḷake vapparan=āṇṭ=iṛiyalke pēsi sad-vīraṇ=eyde  
koṇḍ=eṣeva misegaḷim huri-goṇḍa gaṇḍa perṇḍāra-
- 25 man=āḷda Simḍa-kuḷa-maṇḍananoḷ paḍiy=appa gaṇḍar=ār || [17||\*] Nija-  
chāturbbaḷa-garbbadiṁ bhūja-baḷa-prakshōbhadiṁ Pāṇḍyan=āḷi-jay-ā-
- 26 kāmksheyin=eyde vaṇḍu kaḍupimḍam tā[ge] Chāvumṇḍa-bhūbhujan=ēk.  
āṇḍade gelda sainyaman=adaṁ kaṇḍ=uṭṭudaṁ biṭṭu nirvvijayaṁ
- 27 Kāma-nṛipāḷan=ōḍidan=avaṁ beṇḍoṭṭu kāl-vaṭṭeyim || [18||\*] 
- Vaṇḍita[v=I]mḍranimḍav=Amarāvatī Rāghavanimḍ=Ayōdhya
- 28 Gōvimḍanin=ujvaḷan-Madhure Guttanin=Ujjayanī-puraṁ Maruṁ-naṇḍananimḍe  
Hastinapuraṁ neḷe raṇjisuv-ante saṇtataṁ Simḍa-Chāvumṇḍa-
- 29 bhūbhujanin=oppaman=āḷdud=Eraṇbarāpuram || [19||] Dēvaḷaṇḍaḷim [va  
vadhū]kuḷa-harmmya-śataṇḍaḷim mahidēva-grihaṇḍaḷim Dhana-
- 30 pati-prabha-vaiśya-kadaṇḍa-gēhadim pāvanavat-tapō-vana-tapō-dhana-sālegaḷimḍe  
kaṇḍe-vaṇḍ=i vaṇḍu-āḷḍaḷ sale virājisut-irppu-
- 31 d=Eraṇbarāpuram || [20||\*]  Alli || Telligar=ayvatt-okkal=sal-lalita-guṇ  
āḍhyar=Abhava-pada-yuga-vimal-ōṭphulla-saras(i)-ja-ṣaṭ-padar=ullasi-
- 32 ta-sit-ābhra-kirtti-vallabhar=enipar || [21||\*] Mattam || Vṛi || Śaraṇ-āyāt-ādri-  
rakṣhā-kṣhama-saradhigaḷ=uddamḍa-vidviṣṭa-dusṭ-ōṭkara-
- 33 kāmṭāra-pradāha-prabāḷatara-mah-ōḷḍa-āṇaḷar=Saṁbhu-śumbhaḷa-charaṇ-āmbhōjāta-guṇḍat-  
sa-ruchiratara-rōḷamḍa-
- 34 reṇḍ=ēṇḍu bhāsvad-dhārey=aivatt-okkalam takkaraṇ=atīṣayadiṁ kirttikum  
mechchi nichchaṁ || [22||\*] Sujana-stutyar=ssu(su)-satya-bratar=aparimit-  
āchāra-sad-dharma-
- 35 vaṇḍmar=ṇṇ(ṇṇ)i-āṇṭ-āṇṭa-mōḍa-pramudita-vimala-svāṇṭar-ātmiya-dēva-dviḷa-pād-  
āmbhōja-pūjā-nirataḷ=enute kay-vā(S)-
- 36 radiṁ kūḍe baṇḍu-brajev=aivatt-okkalam baṇḍipud=vaṇi-talam meche  
e-āṇḍadiriḍam || [23||\*] Va || Amṭu pogaḷte-vaḍed-aivatt-okkalgaḷ-ēka stha-
- 37 r-āḷ-iḷi-Eraṇbarāpurad-īṣana-āḷḍa-viḷḷaḷaḷ Telligōṣvara-dēvara pratish-  
ṭheyam tad-dēv-āyatanamumam māḷḍaidar=ā sthānad=ā-

- 38 chāryyar=appa **Chāṇḍramaulidēvara** gurukuḷ-ānvayav=em̐t=em̐daḍe || Maṁ-  
neya-vaḷiyol=ati-stutan=um̐nata-yasa(S)-
- 39 n=āsrit-āśrayaṁ kali-kāl-ōtpaṁna-Lakuḷīsan=enipaṁ samnuta-mati **Vigra-**  
**hēśvara**-brati-tiḷakaṁ || [24||\*] Tat-pāda-kamaḷa-sēvā-tatpa-
- 40 ran=anavadya-charitan=Aṁgaḷa-kudhar-ō(r)dyat-pavi **Yōgēśvarayati** sat-puṁnyaṁ  
Lakuḷ-āgam-āmbuja-mitraṁ || [25||\*] Ā munimukhyana
- 41 śishyaṁ bhū-mahitaṁ naishṭhik-āgra-gaṇyaṁ vibudha-stōma-sura-bhūjan=  
Aṁgaḷa-sāmaḷa-gaḷa-vaīri **Chāṇḍramauli-yatim̐draṁ** || (S) [26||\*]
- 42 Nija-dān-ōm̐nati kalpa-bhūja-tatiyaṁ mūla-brataṁ stutya-Vāyu-janaṁ sat-  
yav=anim̐dya-Satyatapanam̐ gāmbhīryav=ambhōdhiyaṁ tṛi(tri)-jagad-byā-
- 43 pta-yasaṁ śaś-āṁka-ruchiyaṁ kiḷ-māḍe rārājipaṁ vijit-ōdyat-Kali  
**Chāṇḍramauli-yatipaṁ** vidvaj-jan-aik-āśrayaṁ || [27||\*] 
- 44 Vachana || Svasti [||\*] Samasta-bhuvan-āśrayaṁ Śrī-Prithvī-vallabha ma-  
hārāj-ādhirāja paramēśvara paramabhāṭṭārakaṁ **Rājachuriya-kula-**
- 45 **kamaḷa-mārttaraṁ** kadana-pracham̐daṁ nām-ādi-samasta-prasasti-sahitaṁ  
śrī-mat-Tribhuvanamalla **Bijjanadēvara** vijaya-rājyaṁ=u-
- 46 ttar-ōttar-ābhividdhi-pravarḍḍham̐nam=ā-chāṇḍr-ārka-tāraṁ saluttam=ire [||\*]  
S(ś)aka-varsha 1088-neya Byaya-sam̐vatsarada **Pushyad-am̐vāsye** (S)
- 47 **Sōmavārav=uttarāyana-sam̐krānti** byatipātad=am̐du śrī-mat-Telligēś-  
varadēvargge **Telligar=ayvatt-okkalgaḷ=ēka-sṭharāgi** Simhēśva-
- 48 rada maṭhad=āchāryyar=appe **Chāṇḍramaulidēvara** kālaṁ karchchi  
dhārā-pūrvvakam̐ māḍi biṭṭ-āyav=em̐t=em̐daḍe [!\*] Dandin=okkaluṁ talad=o-
- 49 kkaluṁ devasav=aḷav=em̐ne gāṇadalli solasav=eraḍu dēva-gāṇad-okkalalli  
devasav=aḷav=em̐ne solasav=om̐du chaitra-pavitram̐ga(S)-
- 50 ḷolu gāṇadalli viṣav=aidu gāṇaṁ meṭṭuvaralli viṣav=aidu maṭhakke  
bam̐d=abhyāgataralli naḍava manushyar-āhāra-dānakke tim̐gaḷim̐ng=okka-
- 51 lgaḷoḷ jōḷa koḷagav=om̐du Kallūra batṭeyim̐ paḍuvala.....nam̐d=iḷuva  
tōm̐taṁ mattar=om̐du Dīpavāḷiya parvvalalli(S)-
- 52 y=okkalol=em̐ne māṇav=om̐du maligeyolag=ainūrvvar=Svāmigaḷ biṭṭ-āyaṁ hoṁge  
koṭṭavaralliy=aḍakey=om̐du koṁḍava(S)-
- 53 ralliy=aḍakey=om̐du enisida dhoregaḷalli pratyēkav-aḍakey=om̐du tam-  
buligarv=viṭṭ-āyaṁ bham̐ḍig=ele nūru hē-
- 54 riṁge nūru tale-voreg=aiy(ai)vattu dēvara mun̐daṇ=aṁgaḍiy=eraḍu ||

B.

- 1  Śrī-vidita-Telligēśvaradēvaṁ manam=osedu kuḍuge rājya-śrī-
- 2 yaṁ [!\*] bhū-vinuta-Vira-Bijjaladēvaṁgam̐ **Vira-Vikrama-ksh̐tipaṁgam̐**  
[||1||\*] Nuta-guṇa-Chāvuṁḍ-ōrvvī-patigaṁ **Siridēvigaṁ** kumār=kkam̐-  
[ṇuṁ] [!\*] gatiyūm=e-
- 3 ne puṭṭidar=b(h)bhūpati-Bijjala-Vira-Vikram-āvanipāḷaru || [2||\*] Avaroḷu  
piriyaṁ Bhāv-ōdbhava-rūpaṁ Vira-Bijjaṇ-ōrvvī-nāthaṁ [!\*] Śiva pada-  
paṁkaja-shaṭpadan=akhiḷa-stuta-kī-





lady, the land of Kumtala by resorting to strength of arms, after conquering the refractory (*chiefs*) so as to be highly praised by the whole circle of Earth.

V. 6. The son-in-law of the emperor was the well-behaved prince **Chāvunḍa** of white fame, a tough warrior, renowned on earth as a Gandharva of the Kali age. As regards the genealogy of that high-souled (*hero*) :

V. 7. King **Āchugi's** brothers, viz., prince **Nāka**, **Simha**, the chief of kings, the famous **Dāsarasa** endowed with valour befitting his rank, the valiant **Dāvana**, king **Chāvunḍarasa**, a handsome lover of victory and prosperity and the virtuous prince **Chāva** were (*powerful*) like a thunderbolt to mountains, the kings of uncomparable prowess. Among them

V. 8. the brave king **Chaunḍa**, born of the **Sinda family**, ever praiseworthy shines on earth with the splendour of fortune and fame unsullied like the nectar-rayed (*moon*), looting and crushing the foes in furious rage when the confederacy of hostile armies met him in fight.

V. 9. Among them, to **Ācharasa** was born **Bammarasa**, a moon to increase the ocean, the Sinda (*lin. age*), brilliant with fame, a repository of great prowess and endeared to victory and wealth.

V. 10. His younger brother was **Ācharasa** of exceeding splendour who, born of the illustrious **Simha** and renowned on earth was, on account of his valour, (*known to be*) ever engaged in killing the hosts of haughty foes.

V. 11. The wife of **Ācha-bhūpa**, thus described, was known by (*lit. shore with*) the name **Mahādēvi** and was of noble family, prudent, extremely calm in disposition, kind and possessed of good fortune.

V. 12. To king **Acha** and the beautiful **Mahādēvi** was born the powerful prince **Perma**, famed like a Gandharva, exceedingly brave, pleasing in conduct, who rendered the battlefields impure with pure and rolling tears proceeding from the eyes of the young wives (*lit. girls*) of the collection of enemy kings who rose in battle.

V. 13. The younger brother of that **Perma-bhūpa** was the renowned chief **Chāvunḍa** a Cupid in form, possessed of a number of excellent qualities and who was a woe to the trembling hearts of the enemy kings.

V. 14. **Chāvunḍa**, son of **Charṇadaladēvi**, courageous like Mount **Mandara** and expert in playing with the rows of balls, the heads of the groups of hostile kings, attained fame glowing like the clear moon.

V. 15. The king **Chāvunḍa** was, when exasperated, a storm to disperse the gathering of clouds, the formidable hostile kings, a brilliant ray of the moon to remove the enveloping and dense darkness, the sins of the Kali age, with fame encompassing the oceans. (*A bestower*) of magnificent gifts he shone like a bolt to tear asunder the mountains, the vanities of groups of scholars.

V. 16. When the army of the **Hoysala** king who had prepared himself for battle met him bravely with a united front, prince **Chāvunḍa**, the moon in the ocean of the **Sinda family** stepping forth valiantly (*lit. with valorous steps*) rushed through, burning like the sun, killed its general and other opponents and, further, captured groups of fierce and intoxicated elephants.

V. 17. What hero, indeed, would equal the ornament of the **Sinda family** who was the master of valiant marauders that stimulated themselves by twisting their moustaches after destroying completely brave warriors, feeling disgusted to fight and kill those that were timid, those that sought his protection, those that cast away their garment through fear and stood (*helpless*) and those that got down on earth from horse (*back*) ?

V. 18. Puffed up at (*the strength of*) his fourfold army and itching with the might of his arms the **Pāṇḍya chieftain** started immediately and met king **Chāvunḍa** with force to conquer him

(*Chāvuṇḍa*) conquered (*his*) army single-handed. Seeing it king **Kāma** threw off his garment and losing (*hopes of*) victory fled by the forest track turning **his** back.

V. 19. Just as Amarāvati looked ever beautiful with Indra who was bowed to (*by all*), Ayōdhya with the descendant of Raghu (*i.e.*, Rāmachandra), the lovely Mathurā with Gōvinda, Ujjayini with Gutta and Hastināpura with the son of Marut (*i.e.*, Bhīmasēna), so also Erambarāpura attained much gracefulness with the Sinda chief Chāvuṇḍa.

V. 20. Erambarāpura shines greatly on the face of this charming earth with temples, numerous palaces containing groups of maidens, houses of gods on earth, *i.e.*, Brāhmaṇas, and of the hosts of Vaiśyas who resembled Kubēra (*in wealth*) and with the hermitages of ascetics in sacred groves of penance.

V. 21. There, **Fifty Families** of Telligas (*i.e.*, oilmen), endowed with pleasing virtues and possessing brilliant fame (*bright*) as white clouds, were like bees on the pure and full-blown lotuses, the two feet of Śiva.

V. 22. Further, the bright Earth is ever pleased with the deserving Fifty Families and praises them high saying "they are like the ocean capable of protecting the mountains, the refugees, like the intensely furious conflagration powerful enough to burn away the forests, the turbulent foes and chief villains, and like the handsome bees humming in the lotuses, the beautiful feet of Śambhu.

V. 23. Groups of (*their*) relatives extol with gestures of hands the Fifty Families so as to be well appreciated by the whole world saying, "They are worthy of praise by the good, avowedly truthful, armoured with piety and inestimable conduct, gladdened in their pure hearts at the innumerable delights of their wives and are ever busy in the worship of the lotus feet of gods and of *devījas*".

Lines 36-38. The Fifty Families, thus praised, assembled and performed the installation of god Telligēśvara in the north-east quarter of Erambarāpura and also constructed a temple for the deity. To describe the succession in the family of the preceptor of **Charādramaulidēva**, the *āchārya* of that temple :—

V. 24. There was an ornament of ascetics named **Vigrahēśvara** of much extolled intellect, who was greatly praised in (*his*) respectable family<sup>1</sup>, an abode of refugees, and was known as Lakulīśa born in the Kali age.

V. 25. The meditator on his lotus feet was the righteous **Yōgēśvarayati** of blameless conduct, a bolt lifted up at the mountain, the Cupid, a sun to the lily of Lākulāgama (*i.e.*, works of the Lākulja sect).

Vv. 26 and 27. The disciple of that excellent *muni* was the best *yati* called **Charādramauli**, the sole resort of learned men, who has conquered the rising Kali; his generosity surpassed the group of desire-yielding trees, his vow of (*subsisting on*) roots, the praiseworthy son of Vāyu (*i.e.*, Hanumān), his truthfulness, the unblamable Satyatapa, his serenity, the ocean and his fame pervading the three worlds, the lustre of the moon.

Ll. 44-46. Hail ! When the victorious reign of the illustrious **Tribhuvanarmalla Bijjandēva**, an asylum of the whole world, Lord of Fortune and Earth, possessed of all the laudatory titles like *Mahārājadhirāja*, *Paramādeva*, *Paramabhāṭṭāraka*, a sun to the lotus of the **Kaichuriya** family, terrible in fight, was advancing in the course of continuously increasing prosperity as long as the sun and the moon last,

<sup>1</sup> *Mannega* may also be taken to mean a particular sub-division of the teacher's lineage.

Ll. 46-48. On **Monday**, the **new-moon day** of **Pushya**, which was the day of **Uttarāyana-samkrānti** and **Vyatipāta** in the cyclic year **Vyaya** corresponding to the **Śaka year 1088**, the **Fifty Families of Telligas** met together and granted the following income with the pouring of water to the glorious god **Telligēśvara** after laving the feet of **Chandramauli-dēva**, the *āchārya* of **Simhēśvara-maṭha**.

Ll. 44-52. Each family in Cantonment and Town (*should*) each day measure out two *soḷasa* of oil for an oilmill; in the family (*maintaining*) the god's oil mill, oil measuring one *soḷasa* (*should be received*); five *vīṣas* on an oil mill for (*the offering of*) *chaitra* and *pavitra*; and five *vīṣas* from every one of those that press the mill; one *koḷaga* of *jwarry* per month from each family for conducting the feeding of people (*i.e.*, guests) that come to the *maṭha*; one *mattar* of garden situated at.....west of the path leading to **Kallūru**; on the sacred occasion of **Dīpāvali**, one *māna* of oil from each family (*should be received*).

Ll. 52-54. The income granted by the Five hundred *svāmins* in (*their*) storehouse: for every gold coin, one areca-nut from sellers and one from buyers; one areca-nut from the counting officers each time (*they count*). The income granted by the dealers in betel-leaves: a hundred leaves for one cartload, a hundred for a bullock-load, fifty for a man's load and two shops in front of the temple.

#### B.

Verse 1. May the glorious and famous god **Telligēśvara** grant with kindness the prosperity of kingdom to the world-renowned **Bijjaladēva** and king **Vīra-Vikrama**.

V. 2. There were born to king **Chāvuṇḍa** of reputed virtues and to **Siridēvi** (*two*) sons namely, king **Bijjala** and king **Vīra-Vikrama** as if they were the (*two*) eyes or (*two*) goals of life (*of their parents*).

V. 3. Of them, the elder was prince **Bijjala**, a Cupid in form, a bee in the lotus feet of Śiva, with fame sung by all and an ocean of polity.

V. 4. King **Vīra-Bijjaṇa** trusted Śiva like Nambi and was like Ōhila, a devotee who did not observe any religious rites—what more—he was learned like Bāṇa.

V. 5. This prince **Vīra-Bijjala** of increasing fame, a shaft in the hearts of his foes and an expert, forsooth, in the sixty-four arts was the husband of **Tripurādēvi**.

V. 6. King **Vīra-Vikrama** looks majestic with fame extolled on earth ..... as if he was then the (proper) lord (*to bear*) the title of **Chakravartin**.

V. 7. If (*the name of*) a tiger is taken (*to compare his valour with*) he would mock at it, he would.....host of serpents, oppose in a fitting manner.....and cow down the Death God. O! God!! **Vīra-Vikrama** is indeed a veritable warrior.

V. 8. Who, indeed, can survive.....(*after witnessing*) the force of the prowess of his arms? Who does not shrink in power? Who does not run away helpless after opposing (*him*) in battle? Who does not tremble or be perturbed in mind and will not.....offer everything of his own? What person is there that does not stretch his hands for the gifts of the renowned **Vīra-Vikrama**?

V. 9. The powerful chief **Vīra-Vikrama** gives (*gifts*) to one that praises him; protects if one seeks his shelter and is a beautiful swan to the lotus plant.....**dēvi** who equalled **Lakṣmī**.

Lines 10-12. Hail! When the illustrious **Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara**, **Sāhasōttuṅga**, **Bhujabala**....king.....**ladēva** and **Vīra-Vikramadēva**, possessed of all the laudatory *birudas*, were ruling in their capital **Erambarage**, with the diversion of pleasant conversation, **Kisukāḍu-70**, **Bāgaḍage-70**, **Kelavaḍi-300**, **Nareyaṅgal-12** and **Kariviḍi-3[o]**.

Ll. 12-16. On **Monday**, the auspicious day of **Samkrānti**, the **fourteenth day**.....in the cyclic year **Plavaṅga**, corresponding to the **Śaka year 1109**, **Bijjaladēva**

and **Vīra-Vikramadēva**.....granted at the request of the **Fifty Families** as *sarva-namasya*, with the pouring of water and with immunity from all claims, twelve *matar* of land field by the pole (*measuring*) twenty-seven (?) spans, on the north of the land of god Jagatēśvara, to god **Telligēśvara** of **Erambarage**, the fortunate town existing from times immemorial (*anādi-paṭṭana*), and at the request of **Murnjaya-Sāhaṇi**, one *matar* of paddy land to the west.....

No. 13.— DABOK INSCRIPTION OF THE TIME OF DHAVALAPPADEVA; [HARSHA—]  
SAMVAT 207.

By

R. R. HALDER, RAJPUTANA MUSEUM, AJMER.

This inscription was found engraved on a large stone lying in a field at the village of **Dabōk**, eight miles to the east of Udaipur in Mewār. It was removed to the Udaipur Museum by Rai Bahadur Gaurishankar H. Ojha, and I edit it from the ink-impression, which he so kindly placed at my disposal.<sup>1</sup> Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar has noticed it in this journal.<sup>2</sup>

The record contains fifteen lines of writing covering a space of about 3 ft. 6 ins. × 1 ft. 7 ins. The average size of the letters is  $\frac{3}{4}$  in. The **characters** belong to the northern class of alphabets, commonly known as *Kuṣiṭa lipi*. They are almost similar to the Jodhpur Inscription<sup>3</sup> of Pratihāra Bāuka. Palaeographically, the inscription is important, as the date given in it contains the letter-symbol of 200, which is worth noting. The **language** is incorrect Sanskrit and, excepting the two imprecatory verses, the whole record is in prose. In respect of **orthography**, the following points may be noted—consonants are doubled after *r*, as in *Durgādēvyā* (l. 4), *-mārgga* (l. 9), etc.; and before *r*, as in *-puttra* (l. 2), *kshētram* (l. 5), etc.; *s* is written for *ś*, as in *°svarasya* and *sāradya* (l. 4), and for *sh*, as in *°sēdhyō-* (l. 13), *-aṭavīsv-a-* (l. 14), etc.; the *anusvāra* is used for *n* in *asmim-* (l. 1), *-chandrārkkā-* (l. 11), etc., and is redundant in *-vridhyartham* (l. 11), and *haram-* (l. 15); *m* is written for *v* in *-nimī* (l. 3), etc.; rules of *sandhi* are, as a rule, violated in almost all the lines. The *upadhmāniya* is used in *punar=ādādita* (l. 14). Other mistakes and irregularities are pointed out in the footnotes accompanying the text.

The inscription is of the time of **Śrī-Dhavalappadēva**, who, as shown by the titles *Parama-bhaṭṭāraka*, *Mahārājādhirāja*, *Paramēśvara*, appears to have been a paramount chief. The record is dated in the eighth day of the bright fortnight of **Bhādrapada** of the **Samvat 207**. The object of the inscription is to record the grant of some fields and, probably, shops, too, by Vaidya Giyaka, son of Nāgadāman, a resident of Dhavagartā (the present town of Dhōṛ in the Jahāzpur district of the Udaipur State) to the temples of the god Mahāmahēśvara and the goddess Durgā called Ghaṭṭavāsini.

As the era to which the year belongs has not been specified, the date cannot be ascertained with certainty. The characters, however, are of a period not earlier than the 8th or 9th century A. D. In consideration of this fact, the date can be referred to the Harsha era, in which several other inscriptions<sup>4</sup> of Rājputānā are dated. In that case the date would correspond to Monday, the 8th August A.D. 813. The family to which Dhavalappadēva belonged is not mentioned in this inscription. From the Dhanōp inscription<sup>5</sup> of Chachcha, dated Samvat 1063

<sup>1</sup> The impression is not very clear. Consequently the reading is not free from doubt in several places.

<sup>2</sup> Above Vol. XII, p. 11.

<sup>3</sup> Above Vol. XVIII, pp. 87 ff.

<sup>4</sup> See *Annual Reports of the Rajputana Museum, Ajmer*, for 1916-17 and 1919-20, 4(b) L.

<sup>5</sup> *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XI, p. 174

(A.D. 1006), we know that the Rāshtrakūṭas were ruling over Rājputānā in the eleventh century A.D. We also know from the Sirūr inscription<sup>1</sup> of the Rāshtrakūṭa king Amōghavarsha I that Gōvindarāja III conquered Kērala, Mālava, Gurjara, etc., as far as Chitrakūṭa (Chitōr in Mewār). This would show that the Rāshtrakūṭas of the Deccan held their sway over some parts of Rājputānā in the beginning of the ninth century A.D. Possibly the Rāshtrakūṭas of Dhanōp, which is near Mewār, were related to the Rāshtrakūṭas of the Deccan, and Dhavalappadēva may also have been related to them. His name seems to be of South-Indian<sup>2</sup> origin.

The epigraph under notice describes Dhanika as the son of Guhila, who then ruled over Dhavagartā (l. 2). The Chāṭsū inscription<sup>3</sup> of Bālāditya mentions a Dhanika as the son of Guhila. One Dhanika figures as a local ruler in the inscription<sup>4</sup> dated Saṃvat 887 (A.D. 830), recently discovered at Nāsūn in the Kharwā estate in Ajmer-Merwara, but, there, he is described as the father of Īśānabhaṭa. The Dhanika of the Chāṭsū inscription was the great-grand-son of Īśānabhaṭa. Consequently there must have been two Dhanikas and two Īśānabhaṭas.

The contents of the inscription may be summed up as follows:—

After making an obeisance to the god Śiva and giving the date as the eighth day of the bright fortnight of Bhādrapada of the saṃvat 207 (200 in letter-symbol and 7 in figure), the first five lines state that, during the reign of *Paramabhaṭṭāraka Mahārājādhirāja Paramēśvara Śrī-Dhavalappadēva*, Vaidya Gīyaka, son of Nāgadāman of the Kāyastha family and an inhabitant of Dhavagartā, which was being ruled over by Dhanika, a Guhilot, made permanent endowments of some *śāradyagraishmika* fields (the fields that can be tilled in autumn as well as in summer) to two temples—one of Mahāmahēśvara established by him (Gīyaka) and the other of Durgādēvī previously established by Vaidya Yaśōdēva. Lines 4-5 inform us that the above fields were in the share or inheritance of Chachcha (probably one of the sons of the donor). In lines 5-10 are given the boundaries of the fields and of the two shops. Lines 10-11 tell us that the fields were granted for the increase of religious merit and fame of the donor and his parents, as also for the repairs and maintenance of the above temples. In lines 12-13, the allotment of the fields and the share of their produce is made. The fifteenth or the last line tells us that the inscription was engraved by Vṛiddhināga, son of Vaidya Gīyaka.

#### TEXT.<sup>5</sup>

- 1 श्री<sup>7</sup> नमः शिवाय ॥ सं २०० ७ भाद्रपदष्टदि ऽ अक्षिंदि(क्षिन्दि)वसे  
परमभट्टारकमहाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वरश्रीव(ध)वस्यपदेवप्रवर्ध(धं)-
- 2 मानराज्ये । गुहिलपुत्राणां श्रीव(ध)निकस्योपभु[ज्य]मानायां व(ध)वगर्तायां  
वास्तव्यवैद्यगोयकनागदामपुत्रनेगम-
- 3 जात्य(त्वः) श्रीमहेश्वरीरसामाख्यदेवदायत्वेन अक्षयनीमी(वीं) प्रयच्छति  
आत्मीयस्य कारितदेवद्रोशीप्रतिष्ठापितस्य देवाधिदेवमहामहै-

<sup>1</sup> Above Vol. VII, p. 207.

<sup>2</sup> Names ending in *ppa* generally denote the names of persons of South India; for instance, *appa* (above, VI, 117), *Tailappa* (*ibid.*, III, 271), *Dhōrappa* (*ibid.*, II, 217), *Dhādiyappa* (*ibid.*, II, 217), etc. Such instances are rare in northern India. The name Dhavalappa also occurs in a grant of Kṛishṇa II (*ibid.*, I, 53), but he must be a different person.

<sup>3</sup> Above, Vol. XII, p. 14.

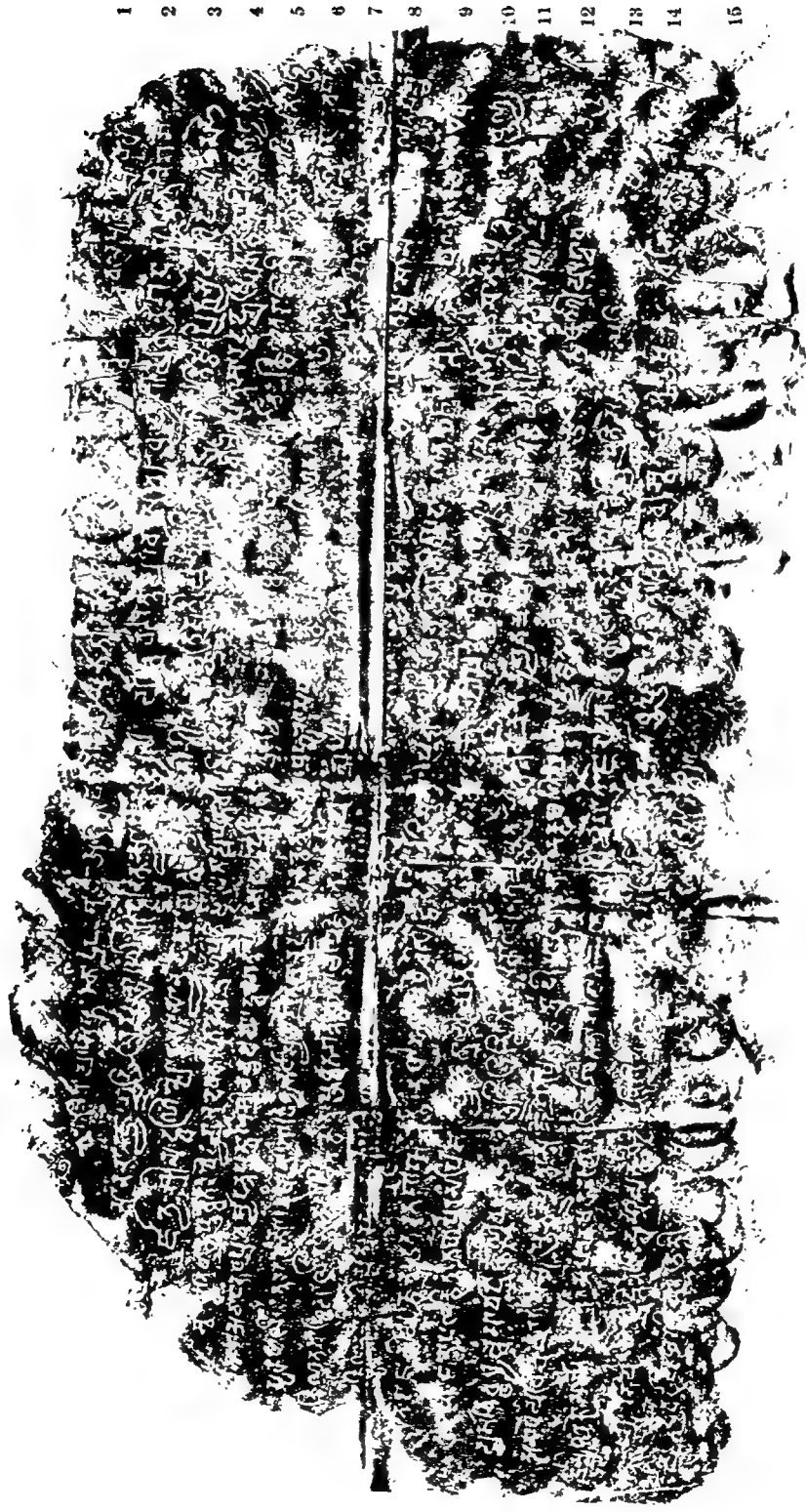
<sup>4</sup> *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. LIX, p. 22.

<sup>5</sup> From the impression.

<sup>6</sup> Expressed by a symbol.

- 4 ख(ख)रस्य । तथा च पु(पु)र्वतरवैद्ययस(शो)देवकारितदेवद्रीणीप्रतिष्ठा-  
पिताया घटवासिनीनामश्रीदुर्गादेव्या अर्वाहृत(तः) । आत्मीयस्ववीर्योत्पन्नो-  
(का) सारथ्यद्वैभिकचेवादी'पूर्वभुज्य(क्त?)भुज्य-
- 5 माना अचाटभटप्रवेशा [ख]पुच्छाणां श्रीचञ्चदाया । ह(ध)वगर्तापु(पु)र्वत-  
(तः) सा(शा)[र]द्यद्वै(यै)भिकचेचं [1\*] यस्याघाटनानि पूर्वतः [सा]-  
वटचेचं वकटा च [1\*] दक्षिणत(तो) राजकीयचेचं । पश्चिमत(तः)  
पङ्कण-
- 6 प्यकपाखी । उत्तरत(तो) वर्त्ता(र्त्त) । तथा नागादित्यभटा(ट)स्य चाग्रते  
(तः) मारथ्यद्वै(यै)भिकचेचं । पूर्वत(तो) ब्रह्मसोमवाउट<sup>2</sup>कचेचं वकटा  
च ॥ दक्षिणत(तः) तटाकोदकं ॥ उत्तरत(तो) भर्मीकभवकचेचं ॥ तथा  
ह(ध)वगर्ता
- 7 दक्षिणत(तो) वाह्नियालीनाम अरह(ह)टचेचं । पूर्वत(तो) गर्ता वर्त्ता  
(र्त्त)च । दक्षिणत(तो) राजकीय[चे]चं । पश्चिमत(तः) पुष्कर(रि)-  
णीघाली ॥ उत्तरत(तो) वर्त्ता(र्त्त) ॥ तथा कर्कतटाक<sup>3</sup> चाग्रत'अरहट-  
चेचं [1\*] पूर्वत(तो)
- 8 गर्ता । दक्षिणत(तो) राजकीय(या) अरहटकुला(स्या) । पश्चिमत(तो)  
वकटा । उत्तरत(तो) राजकीयचेचं । तथा अमारघटवकटाकस्य  
पृष्ठते(ष्ठतः) काश्चपियचेचं । पूर्वत(तो) । विश्वसोमचेचं । दक्षिणत(तः) पश्चि-  
मत(तो) राजकीयचेचं । उत्तरत(तो) गोम्यचेचं ॥ तथा हटमध्ये बीखी  
हे दाक्षिणाभिमुखा(खे) ॥ पूर्वतो(तः) पश्चिमत(तः) [सा]उल्लवीथी । दक्षि-  
णत(तो) हटमार्ग(र्गः) । उत्तरत(तः) प्रणा[ली] . . . . . ॥ एवं च-
- 10 तुराघाटनोपकर्त्तितं(तं) । तथापरमपि सा(शा)रथ्यचेवादी(दि) यत्किमपि  
तत्त्वमस्तं(स्त)म[च] गुगुलदोपतैस्या(ता)र्थे खण्डस्फुटितसमारा(रो)पणार्थे च  
माताघ(पि)न्नो[रात्मनश्च] पुण्य-
- 11 यशोभिद्वध्य(ज्य)र्थ(र्थ)मार्चंद्रार्काण्यवपङ्कनचक्षितिसिधितिसमकाखीमतया पुच्छधौ-  
कान्धयक्रमभोम्भतया च देशदायत्वेन अचयभीमि(वि)काधारेण अ[तिष्ठापि]-  
ता(तं) ॥
- 12 अनाघेयविधया ।<sup>4</sup> मन्म(म)पुच्छपौमान्मवै(जे:) यैभिकचेवादी(दि:) सप्तमविभा-  
जीय क(क)ष(षं)बीया(य:) ॥ सा(शा)रथ्यचेवादी(दि:) सप्तदमीयकहलकुटकेन  
क(क)ष(षं)बीया(य:) । हावपि . . . . . चतु-

<sup>1</sup> Read 'अरथपिभिकचेवादि'.<sup>2</sup> Read 'वायतोऽरहट'.<sup>3</sup> 'ह' is written below the line.<sup>4</sup> The stroke is redundant.<sup>5</sup> Read 'तटाकक'.



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- 13 (द्रु)मी(मी)शको<sup>1</sup> [मासि] दातव्यो(व्यः) ॥ अपरकृषकै(कैः) यद्योपरिलिखितभागो दातव्येति<sup>2</sup> ॥ म(म)दीयगोत्र(त्र)जैरन्यतरैर्व्या कालान्तरैस्त्र(त्र)पि न(न) के(कै)चि(चित्) प्रतिसे(षे)धो [न च] . . . . व्य(व्यः) । यानी-
- 14 इ संस्म(स)ारभयास्त्रेन्द्रैर्द्वाना(ना)नि धर्मायतनीकृतानि [1\*] निर्मात्यवान्-प्रतिमानि तानि [को नाम सा]धु × पुनराददौत । [1\*]<sup>3</sup> विंध्याटवीस्त्र(त्र)-तोयासु शुष्ककोटरवासिन(नः) [1\*] कृष्णसर्प<sup>4</sup>भि-
- 15 जायन्ते देवदायं हरं(र)न्ति ये<sup>5</sup> ॥ उत्कीर्ण्यं भिषः<sup>6</sup>गीयकसु(सु)नुना इति-नागेन प्रस(प्र)स्तिरिति ॥

#### No. 14.—FOUR CHANDELLA COPPER-PLATE INSCRIPTIONS.

BY RAI BAHADUR HIRALAL.

Impressions of the four inscriptions, edited below, were forwarded to me by Dr. Hirananda Sastri, Government Epigraphist for India, who received the plates from the Ruling Chief of Charkhāri State, Bundelkhand, Central India, through the Director General of Archæology in India. No details as to their provenance were available from the State office records. For the sake of convenience, I am here noticing the inscriptions in their chronological order.

#### A.—CHARKHARI PLATE OF DEVAVARMADEVA : [VIKRAMA-]SAMVAT 1108.

This charter is incised on a large copper-plate, 18½" by 12½", with its corners rounded off and weighing 360½ *tolas*. The plate is surmounted by a copper-hook, 2½" long, which is rivetted to it and holds a ring 2½" in diameter. Just below this is carved the figure of the four-armed goddess Lakshmi with an elephant on each side pouring water on her head with raised trunk. Under her seat is inscribed the sign-manual *Śrīmad-Dēvavarmmadēvaḥ sva-hastāḥ* in two lines. The figure occupies a space, 4 inches long and 3 inches high, just in the middle of the first 6 lines. Each complete line is on the average 16" long.

The inscription is engraved in Nāgarī characters, their average size being ⅜". The language is Sanskrit. But there are numerous mistakes in spelling, etc., some of which appear to be due to the oversight of the engraver. There is a palpable instance of the latter being influenced by local *patois*, viz., the Bundelkhandi Hindī in which *jē* is still used for the Sanskrit *yē*, of which it is an exact equivalent. In line 21 the engraver had used the correct form but in the next line the more familiar vernacular word asserted itself. The orthographical peculiarities are similar to those which the late Dr. Kielhorn pointed out in editing another copper-plate charter of the same king issued a year before the present one. The latter was issued on the occasion of the anniversary of his mother's death, while the present record was issued on the occasion of a lunar eclipse for the religious benefit of himself and

<sup>1</sup> Probably this word is connected with *dramma*.

<sup>2</sup> Read व्य इति.

<sup>3</sup> Metre, *Indravajrā*.

<sup>4</sup> Read सर्पा वि.

<sup>5</sup> Metre, *Anushubh*.

<sup>6</sup> Read भिषग्.

<sup>7</sup> *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XVI, p 206.

his parents. The date of this record is Samvat 1108 Mārgasīra śudi 15, Sōma-dina.<sup>1</sup> On this day the Chandēlla king Dēvavarmadēva, Lord of Kālīnjara, meditating on the feet of Vijayapālādēva who meditated on the feet of Vidyādhara-dēva, offered water to the names of his ancestors, worshipped Śūlapāni or Śiva and gave the village Bhūtapallikā, situated on the bank of the Yamunā river in the *vishaya* of Nava-rāshṭra-maṇḍala, to Paṇḍita Kikkana of the Kṛishṇātrēya-gōtra with 3 *pravaras* whose ancestors had emigrated from Kum-bhaṭibhaṭagrāma. This Brāhmaṇa was ever ready to expound the Vēdas, the Vēdāṅgas, Itihāsa, the Purāṇas and Mīmāṃsā and was devoted to *shaṭ-karma* (*shaṭ-karm-ābhirata*), the prominent mention of which leads me to infer that he practised Yōga,<sup>2</sup> which is more awe-inspiring than the ordinary six<sup>3</sup> duties of a Brāhmaṇa.

The localities mentioned in this record have not yet been identified, excepting Kālīnjara, whence the record was issued, and the Yamunā river on whose bank the village of Bhūtapallikā was situated. Both of them, viz., the fort of Kālīnjara and the river Yamunā or Jumnā are too well known to require identification. The mention of the latter indicates sufficiently the locality of the village and the district in which it was included. Dēvavarmadēva was the 12th king of the Chandēlla dynasty and, if this record shows anything in regard to his capital and extent of his dominions, it indicates that he lived in the Kālīnjara fort and that his *rāj* extended at least up to the Jumnā in the north. But almost the same conclusion is derivable from his other record referred to before and those of his predecessors, an account of which has been given by the late Dr. V. A. Smith in his exhaustive essay on the history and coinage of the Chandēlla dynasty.<sup>4</sup> But it may be noted here that in his zeal to show the great antiquity of the Chandēlla dynasty and its kingdom Jējākabhukti—the designation was later on changed to Jajhauti and taken as given after Jējāka or Jayaśakti, the third king of the line—he has fallen into a blunder, to which enthusiasts, howsoever great, are sometimes liable. In his article he has attempted to prove that *Chih-chi-t'o*, visited and described by Yuan Chwang in 641 or 642 A.D., was no other than Jijhōti. This would mean that the country was named after a king, who was born about 200 years later, as according to him<sup>5</sup> Jējāka ascended the throne about 860 A.D.

#### TEXT.

1. ओं नमः शिवाय ॥ स्वस्ति परमभट्टारकमहाराजाधिराजपरमेस्वरः  
श्रीविद्याधरदेवः(व)पादानुध्यातः(त)परमभट्टा-
2. रकमहाराजाधिराजपरमेस्वरः(र)श्रीमहजयपालदेवः(व)पादानु(नु)ध्यातः(त)पर-  
मभट्टारकमहाराजाधिराज-
3. परमेस्वरः(र)श्रीकालंजराधिपतिः(ति)श्रीमहेश्वरदेवः(व)पादानां मन्त्रो(वा)-  
प्रवर्द्धमानकल्याणविजयराज्ये स-

<sup>1</sup> This date is irregular. According to Swamikannu Pillai's *Indian Ephemeris*, V. S. 1108, Mārgasīra śu, 15 fell on Wednesday, the 20th November of A.D. 1051, with no lunar eclipse on that date. The date in V, 8, 1109 would correspond to Tuesday, the 8th December, A.D. 1052, when there was a lunar eclipse.

<sup>2</sup> The six *hatha-yōga* practices are:

*Dhautir-basti tathā nēti naulikī trātakas=tathā |*  
*kapāla-bhātī ch=antāni shaṭ-karmnāni samācharē ||*

<sup>3</sup> See Apte's *Sanskrit Dictionary* under *shaṭ-karma*.

<sup>4</sup> *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XXXVII, pp. 114 ff.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 131. 'The kingdom was known as Jajāhūti (Jajāhōti, Jijhōti),

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 127.

- 4 स्वत्सरसहस्रैके षष्टोत्तरशताधिके अंकतोपि ११०८ मार्गसिर(शीर्ष)स(शु)दि  
१५. सोमदिन(ने) [1\*] अद्यह ओ-
- 5 कालिंजरात(त्) इत्यस्मिन्क ले वर्त्तमाने सा(शा)सनदाता नास्त्रामवः(?)  
एकाङ्क[1\*] सू(शु)द्रुक्तेव(क इव) निसि(शि)ताप्रधारादा-
- 6 रितारिदग्गः विस्(णु)रिव सधरधरा(धराधर)कन्दरगुफा(हा)न्तगलयस(शो)ध-  
वलितदिस्वधूवदन(नः) व(व)लिकरैयि(ण्णीवि)व क-
- 7 नकगोधरादानविष्ठा(ख्या)ता(त)कीर्त्ति[2] युधिष्ठिरव(र इव) सत्यमौ(शौ)चगुरुहि-  
जदेवशुसू(यू)धारतर(तो)नङ्गमिव(इव) रूपसौभाग्ययुक्त(क्तः) परकुलःकृन्नाव-  
(व)शु[3\*]
- 8 मुनिरिव विदितात्मा काव्याल(लं)कारकन्द(न्दो)लषा(ज)णगुणगणाधिष्ठान(नः)  
युगसमानर्देसितस्व<sup>1</sup>न्दिजनसंकोर्णस(श)तद्वार(रः) निन्ना(यी)सितत-
- 9 स्तरादिभयंच(भयस)न्देलान्वयः परममाहेस्व(स्व)रः परमभट्टारकमहाराजाधिराज-  
परमेस्व(स्व)रः ओमदेववर्म्मेदेव(वो) महासामन्तरा-
- 10 जपुचवन्दितः(त)पाद(दः) रंभागर्भोपम(मं) संसारमाकल्य(ल्य) तडित्चञ्चल-  
वन्नश्चो<sup>2</sup> ज्ञात्वा य(ज)लवुह(बुह)दोपम(मं) जोवितमिदं युत्वा यौवनचांज-
- 11 लितुकमिवा<sup>3</sup>स्थिरत्वं(च) सुचिरमपि वसि(उषि)त्वा नास्ति कामेषु तृप्ति[स्सु]  
चिरमपि सुविचिन्त्य धर्ममे(ए)को हि साखाय(सखा) [1\*] आ[यु]र्वर्षम(श)तं  
नृणा(णां)
- 12 परिमित(तं) रात्र्या [त]दर्श(र्हं) द्रुतं तस्यार्हस्य कदाचिदर्हमधिक(कं) वाद्विज्य-  
(वाहक्य)वाले(वात्ये) म(ग)तं [1\*] से(शे)वं व्याधिजराधियोगमरणैः सेवादिभि-  
र्क्षीयते ॥<sup>4</sup>
- 13 जीवे वारितरङ्गचञ्चलवलैः(तरे) सौख्यं कुतः प्राणिना(नाम्) [11\*]<sup>5</sup> एवं  
संसारधर्ममेको(कं) हि असा(शा)स्व(स्व)तं ज्ञात्वा दानमतिवके (?)  
[स्व]भोगावा[म]-
- 14 नवरात्रमण्डलविषये यमुनातटे भूतपत्निकानामग्रामोय(यं) सोमातुणकाष्टवी<sup>6</sup>पयं-  
क्तं(क्तः) ओदेववर्म्मेन(वर्म्मेणा) अद्यः(द्य) पौर्णमासोमग्राहे
- 15 कीटितोर्थे ज्ञात्वा पितृतर्पणं [च] कृत्वा ओसू(शु)लपाणिदेवमर्खं(र्खं)यित्वा  
यथाविधि च धु(हु)त्वा मातापितृवात्मन(पितृवात्मन)स पुन्य(स्व)यसो(शो)  
विहृषये[ति](इति) कुम्भटोभट-
- 16 ग्रामविनिर्भूताय कृष्णाचेयस्व(स)मोचाय अचिअर्चनानससोवास(श्यावाश्वेति)<sup>7</sup>स्तुः-  
(चि)प्रवराय वट्ट(वाट्ट)चसा(शा)स्त्रिने ब्रा(ब्रा)ह्मणपण्डित-ओजयस्वामिपौचाय  
पण्डि-

<sup>1</sup> Read °दक्षिणार° (?)<sup>2</sup> Read अत्रिचञ्चलं नक्षी°<sup>3</sup> Read होवर्ष च वृषाग्रवन्नजलनिष्टवद° (?)<sup>4</sup> Strokes not required,<sup>5</sup> Metre, Sārdūlavikrīḍā.<sup>6</sup> Read °काष्ठगोचर°.<sup>7</sup> See Max Müller's *History of Sanskrit Literature*, p. 197.

- 17 तः(त)श्रीसोमेस्क(ख)रपुत्राय पंडितः(त)श्रीकिक्कनः(नाय) वेदवेदाङ्गेतिहासपुराण-  
मोमांसाव्या[ख्या]नतत्पराय षट्कर्माभिरताय ब्रा(ब्रा)ह्मणाय
- 18 आश्रय(शास)नं<sup>1</sup> प्रदत्तं(त्तः) यथा दीयम(मा)नस्य भागभोगकरहिरन्य(ख)दण्डा-  
दायादिकुवितान्वचितं(कमुचितानुचित)प्रभृतयस्तत्सर्वमस्योपनेतव्यं ॥ सर्वान्ये-  
(ने)तान्म(ग्भा)-
- 19 विनो(नः) पार्थिवेद्रा[न्\*] भूयो भूयः(यो) याचते रामभद्रः [1\*] सामान्योयं-  
धर्मसेतुर्नृपाणां काले २ पालनीयो भवद्भिः ।[1२॥\*] भूमी(मिं) यः प्रति-  
गृह्णा(ह्ना)ति ।<sup>2</sup> यश्च
- 20 भूमिं प्रयच्छा(च्छ)ति । उभौ तौ पुन्य(ख्य)कर्माणि ।<sup>2</sup> नियतौ स्वर्गंगा-  
मिनौ [॥३॥\*] षष्ठि वर्षं(षष्टिं वर्ष)सहस्राणि स्वर्गे मोदति भूमिदः [1\*]  
अ(या)च्छेता(त्ता) आन्म(नुम)न्ता अव(च) तने(तान्ये)-
- 21 व नरक(के) वये(से)त(त्) ।[1४॥\*] स्वदत्तां(त्तां) परदत्तां(त्तां) [वा] ।<sup>2</sup> ये(यो)  
हरन्ति(हरेत) वसुधरां । स्वा(स्वा)नयोनिस(ग्र)तं गत्वा ।<sup>2</sup> चाण्डालेष्व-  
भिजायते ।[1५॥\*] विंध्याटवीश्वतोयासु शुष्ककोटर-
- 22 वासिनः [1\*] मरुसर्पाभिजायन्ते ।<sup>2</sup> जे(धे) हरन्ति रसहवा<sup>3</sup> ।[1६॥\*] वापी-  
कु(कु)पसहस्राणि ।<sup>2</sup> अश्वमेधस(ग्र)तानि च [1\*] गवां कोटिप्रदानेन  
भूमिहर्ता न
- 23 शुध्यति ॥[७॥\*] मङ्गलं महाश्रीः । अक्षपटलिकयशोभटेन लिखितं ॥

B.—CHARKHARI PLATES OF PARAMARDDIDEVA : [VIKRAMA-]SAMVAT  
1236.

These are two copper-plates having raised rims ( $\frac{3}{8}$ " high) rivetted to them. Each plate weighs 180 $\frac{1}{2}$  tolas, but their sizes differ a little, the first measuring 14 $\frac{1}{2}$ " by 11 $\frac{1}{4}$ " and the second 14 $\frac{1}{2}$ " by 10 $\frac{5}{8}$ ". The former contains 18 lines of writing against 14 of the latter. On the first plate there is a figure of **Lakshmi** in the middle of the first three lines, and at the bottom, a round hole in the middle of the last line. In the second plate space was left for a hole, but it was never made and hence the plates were not strung together as was originally intended. The size of the letters in the first plate is  $\frac{1}{2}$ ". They are smaller and more beautiful than those in the second plate, to cover the whole of which the engraver Pālhaṇa, a skilful artisan, as he calls himself, had had to raise the size to  $\frac{5}{8}$ ". In the case of the Mahōbā plates of Samvat 1230,<sup>4</sup> I remarked how Pālhaṇa worked up his way from the position of a *pīṭalahāra* to that of a *vijñānin*, and this time, *sic.*, six years later, he raised himself to the position of a *vaidagdhi-vīśvakarman*<sup>5</sup> (l. 32). Despite this, there is hardly any improvement in his engraving. The fact remains that the

<sup>1</sup> Read शासनेन.

<sup>2</sup> Daṇḍa not required.

<sup>3</sup> Read वसुधरा.

<sup>4</sup> Above, Vol. XVI, p. 10.

<sup>5</sup> [The Icholhāwar plates (*Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XXV, pp. 208 ff., l. 35) also give this epithet.—Ed.]

letters *va*, *dha*, *cha* and *ra* have been so formed as to cause confusion with one another, for instance, in l. 4 *Paramarddidēvō* has been engraved as *Paramarddidērō*. *Ba* has not been at all distinguished from *va* and the symbol for the medial *u* has been sometimes so broadened as to give the appearance of a *ta*, e.g., *bhūtva* (l. 17). In the text letters or their parts are, in some cases, omitted in consequence of which the sense is also affected. The *anuvāra* and the *rēphu* have been in many cases omitted through sheer inattention, cf. *śaṭ-tri[m\*]śa²* (l. 8) and *Prithivīva[r\*]mma°* (l. 3). On the whole the record is well written. The language is Sanskrit and the text is similar to the one found in other records of the same king. The composer of the record or rather the adopter of the prescribed form, with necessary changes, was one Śubhānamda Vāstavya, who was probably a relative of Prithvīdhara Vāstavya, the writer of some of the previous records of Paramarddidēva.

This charter was issued from Vilāsapura and records the grant of Sagaudō village situated in the district of Kirāyīḍa to a number of Brāhmaṇas, whose forefathers had immigrated from Mutāutha-Bhaṭṭāgrahāra, by the P. M. P. Paramamāhēśvara Paramarddidēva, meditating on the feet of the P. M. P. Madanavarmadēva, who meditated on the feet of the P. M. P. Prithvīvarmadēva, descended from the heroes Jayaśakti and Vijayaśakti of the Chandrātrēya (Chandēlla) lineage. The grant was made for the increase of the religious merit of the donor and his parents on Monday, the seventh day of the bright fortnight of Chaitra in the Vikrama-Samvat 1236<sup>1</sup> which regularly corresponds to Monday, the 27th March 1178 A.D. The record does not supply any new information worth being mentioned and which is not given in the numerous inscriptions<sup>2</sup> of this king which have already been found. [It is interesting to observe here that in the gift-village exception was made of the five *halas* of land gifted to Buddha (l. 14) for that would show that a Buddhist monastery was in existence there and was endowed with that land.—Ed.]

Of the localities mentioned in it, Kālāñjara is too well known to require identification. Kirāyīḍa may be Kirāḍi, 5 miles from Mahōbā. I have not been able to trace Vilāsapura, Sagaudō and Mutāutha villages.

### TEXT.

#### First Plate.

- 1 [श्री] स्वस्ति ॥ जयत्वाह्वाद्यन्विष्टं विश्वेश्वरशिरोधृतः । चन्द्रात्रेयनरेन्द्राणां  
वंशचन्द्र इषीकृत्वतः ॥ [१॥\*] तच्च प्रवर्द्धमा-
- 2 ने विरोधि विजयि (य) भ्राजिष्णुजयशक्तिविजयशक्त्यादिवीराविर्भावमाखरे परमभट्टा-  
रकमहाराजाधिरा-
- 3 जपरमेश्वरश्रीपृथ्वीवर्मा (श्री) देवपादानुध्यातपरमभट्टारकमहारजाधिराजपरमेश्वरश्री-  
मदनवर्मादेवपा-
- 4 दानुध्यातपरमभट्टारकमहाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वरपरममहिष्वरश्रीकालञ्जराधिपतिश्री-  
मत्परमर्हिदेरो (वो) विजयी ॥ स एष

<sup>1</sup> This must be taken as the current year.

<sup>2</sup> See above, Vol. I, p. 208, Vol. IV, pp. 157 ff., Vol. XVI, p. 9; *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIX, p. 37, Vol. XXV, 206; Cunningham's *A. S. R.*, Vol. XXI, pp. 74, 173, 174, and *J. A. S. B.*, Vol. XVII, p. 313.

- 5 दुर्विषहतरप्रतापतापे(पि)तसकलरिपुकुलः कुलवध्व(धू)मिर(व) वशु(सु)श्वराश्व-  
राकुशां परिपालयन्नविकलविवेकनिर्म्यक्षीकृतमतेः(तिः) । किरायि-
- 6 उविषयःन्तःपातिसगौडोग्रामोपमतान्वा(न्त्रा)ह्मणानन्या(न्यां)श्च मान्यामधिकता-  
न्कुटुम्बि(म्बि)कायस्वदूतवैद्यमहत्तराम्भेदचण्डालपर्य-
- 7 ज्ञान्सर्वान्सम्बो(म्बो)धयति समान्नापयते(ति) चा[स्तु]वः सम्बिदितं यथोपरि-  
स्थितोयं ग्रामः सजस्रस्त्रलः सस्त्रावरजङ्गमः साधकर्तुं भूतभ-
- 8 विष्णुदत्त(र्त्त)माननिःशेषादायसहितः प्रतिविहवाटादिप्रवेशस्याभिविर्वासासपुरे  
षट्त्रि(ट्रि)शदधिकशतद्वयोपेतसहस्रतमे
- 9 सम्बलरे चैत्रे मासि शुक्लपक्षे श(स)प्तम्यान्तिथावङ्गतोपि स(सं)वत(त्) १२३६  
चैत्रशुदि ७ भो(सो)मवारि पुष्यतीर्थोदकेन वि-
- 10 धिवत्त्वात्वा देवादीन्सन्तर्प्य भास्करपूजापुरःसर(रं) चराचरगुरु(रुं) भगवन्त(न्तं)  
भवानोपतिमभ्यर्च्य हुतभुजि हुत्वा माता-
- 11 पिभोराजनस्य पुष्ययशोविह्वये । सुताउद्यमद्वाराप्रहारविनिर्गतेभ्यो वत्सगोदेभ्यो  
वत्सभाम् वक्ष्यन्ना-
- 12 ब्रह्मानीर्द्ध्या(जा)मदम्येतिपञ्चप्रवरैभ्योह(भ्यम्बु)दोगशाखाध्यायि[भ्यो] नानाप्रपो<sup>1</sup>  
पीचभ्यो नामा(ना)पो<sup>1</sup>(पो)चेभ्यो नाना-
- 13 पुचेभ्यो नानानामशर्माभ्यो ब्रा(ब्रा)ह्मणेभ्यः कुशलतापूतेन हस्तोदकेन स्वस्ति-  
वाचनपूर्वचन्द्रार्कसम-
- 14 काल(र्त्त) पुत्रपीचाद्यन्वयानुगामि देवश्रीवौ(वौ)हसत्त्वपञ्चहलानि व(व)हिःकृ(कृ)त्  
सै(शै)षभूमिः शासनीकृत्य प्रद-
- 15 ता । मध्ये ॥ ति । दावरपुत्र ति । मोमेकस्य पदद्वयम(म्) । ति ।  
वाङ्मेपुत्र ति । स्वपटस्य पदमेकम(म्) । ति । पापेपु-
- 16 त्र ति । रतनस्य पदमेकम(म्) । ति । सूक्ष्मपुत्र ति । शीठस्य पदमे-  
कम(म्) । इति मत्वा भवद्भिराज्ञाश्व(श्व)वर्णपिवे-
- 17 ये(विधेये)भूत्वा भागभोगपशुहिरण्यकरशुल्कादि सर्व्वमस्त्रे(स्त्रे)<sup>2</sup> समुपनेतव्य(व्यं)  
[।\*] तदेनमवा(स) सम(मं)दिरप्राका-
- 18 र(रं) सनिर्गमप्रवेश(शं) ससर्व्वीशनेक्षुर्कपर्पासकुशु(सु)मस(श)शाममधूकादिभूदह(हं)  
सवगखनि-

<sup>1</sup> The letter पो is superfluous.<sup>2</sup> [Plural ought to have been employed.—Fd.]

## Second Plate.

- 19 निधानं सलोहलवणतुणप[णी]याकरं ससृगवे(वि)वृङ्ग[म]जलचरं सकाशकपंक-  
वणिग(वणिग्)वास्तव्यं<sup>1</sup> स-
- 20 कावे(ष्ठे)ष्टिकापाषाणं सगोकुलमपरै(रै)रपिसीमान्त[र्ग]तेव्व(व्व)स्तुभिः सहितं  
सवा(वा)ह्याभ्यन्तरादायं भुञ्जा(ञ्जा)-
- 21 मामं(नस्य)<sup>2</sup> के(क)र्षता(तः)<sup>3</sup> कष(र्ष)यतो<sup>3</sup> दानाधानविक्रयस्वा कुर्वतो<sup>3</sup> न  
केनाच(नचि)त्काचिद्वा(दु बा)धा कर्त्तव्या । अत्व(च) च राजरा-
- 22 जपुरुषाटविक<sup>3</sup>चाटादिभिः स्वस्वमाभाव्यं परिहृत्तव्यमिदञ्चास्मद्दानमनाच्छेद्य(द्य)-  
मनाहार्यञ्चेति
- 23 भाविभिरपि भूमिपालैः पालनीयमित(ति) । उक्तञ्च ॥ शङ्खभद्राय(स)नं च्छ्वं  
वराखा वरवारणाः । भू-
- 24 मिदानस्य पुण्याणि फलं स्वर्गः पुरदंर(न्दर) ॥[२॥\*] सौवर्णा यत्र प्राया-  
(सा)दा चा(द्या)शार्द्धा(द्वा)रा[ः\*] स्वकामदाः । गन्धर्व्वा-
- 25 पुरसो यत्र तत्र गच्छन्ति भूमिदाः ॥[३॥\*] भूमिं यः प्रतिष्ठन्नाति  
यत्र भूमिं प्रयच्छे(च्छ)ति । उभौ तो (तौ)
- 26 पुण्यकर्माणौ नियतं स्वर्गगामिनौ ॥[४॥\*] व(व)हुभिर्व्वसुधा भुक्ता राजभिः  
सगरादि(दि)भिः । यस्य
- 27 यस्य यदा भूमिस्तस्य तस्य तदा फल(लं) ॥[५॥\*] सर्व्वानेताभ्रावे(वि)नः  
पार्थिवेन्द्राभूयो भूयो याचते
- 28 रामभद्रः । सामान्योय(यं) धर्मसेतुर्नृपाणां काले काले पालनी[यो] भव-  
द्भिरिति<sup>1</sup> ॥(ङ्गिः ॥ इति ॥)[६॥\*] स्वहस्ता(स्तो)-
- 29 य(यं) महाराजश्रीपरमहिंदेवस्य मतमम ॥ विशदगुणगणो(णौ)घोषामवास्त-  
व्यव(व)-
- 30 [श्यो] विदितसकलशास्त्रः श्रीशुभानंदनामा । अलिखदवनिपालस्याज्ञया धर्म-  
लेखी स्फुटललितनिवेशि(शै)रक्षरि(रै)स्ताम्रपट्टम(म्) ॥[७॥\*] रजपालस्य पुत्रेण  
पाञ्चणे-
- 32 न च सि(शि)ल्लिना । उत्कीर्णा वर्णवटना वैदर्भीविस्व(श्च)कर्मणा  
॥[८॥\*] मङ्गलमहाश्रीः ॥

<sup>1</sup> This expression appears to be new. Its exact implication is not understood. [Does it mean, "together with potter's mud and what has been left by merchants?" *Vāstavya* is applied to what is left as a worthless remainder on any spot.—Ed.]

<sup>2</sup> [Plural should be used.—Ed.]

<sup>3</sup> *Āṭavika* I took to be "wild tribes", see above, Vol. XVI, p. 14, n. 1, but it indicates a Government Officer, viz., one in charge of the forest and wild tribes. This finds a mention even in *Kaṭyāya's Arthaśāstra*. See Dr. Shama Sastri's Sanskrit Text, p. 254.



**C.—CHARKHARI PLATE OF VIRAVARMADĒVA : [VIKRAMA-]SAMVAT  
1311.**

The present charter is the **earliest record** of the **Chandēlla** king **Viravarmadēva** yet found. The **copper-plate** on which it is engraved measures 15½" by 11½" and weighs 230½ *tolas*. It has a raised rim, ½" in height, rivetted with nails all round it. In the middle of the first six lines there is a seated figure of the four-armed goddess **Lakshmī**, holding lotus flowers in the two upper, and water pots in the two lower, hands. Over her head is a semi-circular hole apparently meant for a ring, which is wanting. There are 19 lines of writing with well formed letters the size of which is ½" on an average.

The **language** is Sanskrit and the **orthographical peculiarities** are the same as found in other Chandēlla records published before. The record is not free from spelling and other mistakes, but they are comparatively fewer than in other similar records of the family.

The charter was **issued from Vilāsapura** by the **P. M. P. Viravarmadēva** the devout worshipper of Mahēśvara, and the **Lord of Kālāñjara**, son of the **P. M. P. Trailōkyavarman**, son of the **P. M. P. Paramarddidēva**, son of the **P. M. P. Madanavarmadēva**, descended from **Jayaśakti** and **Vijayaśakti**, the famous heroes belonging to the **Chandrātrēya** (Chandēlla) lineage. It records the grant of **Ṭumuṭumā** village in the **Ḍāhī viśhaya** to **Rāūta Abhi**, son of **Rāūta Haripāla**, son of **Rāūta Jagadēva**, son of **Rāūta Dēvashamū** of the **Kāśyapa-gōtra** belonging to the family of **Chandrēśvara**, on **Āśvina śudi 8, Sōmavāra, Samvat 1311**, which regularly corresponds to **Monday, the 21st September 1254 A.D.** The grantee is stated to have performed a deed of valour in a tussle with **Dabhyuḥaḍavarman** in the battle of **Sōndhī**, as a **recognition whereof** this grant appears to have been made in spite of the fact that the purpose has been recorded as one for increasing the religious merit of the grantor **Viravarmadēva** and his parents. In the present case the grantee does not appear to have been a **Brāhmaṇa**, as the omission of his *pravaras* indicates. Moreover, the family name **Chandrēśvara** and the title **Rāūta** point to the same conclusion. Apparently **Sōndhī** is identical with **Seondhā** fort, now called **Kanhārgaḍh**, lying on the banks of the **Sind** river in the **Datia** State, whence it took its name. It is stated in the *State Gazetteer* (Luard's, p. 129) that "Seondhā is certainly an old town as the remains of the earlier settlement can be traced close to the present town. It has been suggested as the **Sarua** fort taken by **Mahmud** of **Gazni** in 1018 when in pursuit of **Chand Rai**". Our record refers to a battle a little more than a hundred years later, apparently between members of the same lineage, viz., the **Chandēllas**, if the termination of the opponent's name **Dabhyuḥaḍavarman** would indicate anything to that effect. It must have been a battle of some importance to have been referred to as *saṅgrāma* or war. That was the time of disturbance as **Viravarmadēva's** grandfather **Paramarddidēva** had been defeated by **Prithvīrāja Chāhamāna** in 1182 A.D. In fact the late **Dr. V. A. Smith** remarks that "the history of the **Chandēlla** dynasty as one of the powers of Northern India ends in 1203 A.D. with the death of **Parmāl** (**Paramarddidēva**) and the capture of **Kālāñjara** and **Mahōbā** by the **Muhammadan** invaders. **Trailōkyavarman** succeeded his father **Parmāl** as a local chieftain holding the eastern part of the ancestral kingdom and in due course was succeeded by **Viravarman** and **Bhōjavarman**<sup>1</sup>".

The other villages referred to in this record have not been traced yet.

<sup>1</sup> *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XXXVII, p. 146.

## TEXT.

- 1 ॥ श्री सिद्धिः ॥ जयत्याह्वाद्यन्विष्टं विश्वेश्वरसिरे(शिरो)धृतः ॥<sup>1</sup> चन्द्राति  
(त्रे)यनरेन्द्राणां वंम(श)रुद्र इवोज्ज्वलः ॥[१॥\*]
- 2 तत्र प्रवर्द्धमाने विरोधिविजयभा(भा)जिष्णु(ण्णु)जयस(श)क्तिविजयम(श)[क्त्या]दिवी-  
राविर्भावभाश्च(स्व)रे
- 3 परमभट्टार[क\*]महाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वरश्रीमदनवर्मदेवपादानुध्यात्(त) ।<sup>1</sup> परम-  
[भ\*]ट्टारकम-
- 4 हाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वरश्रीपरमर्हिदेवपादानुध्यात् ।<sup>1</sup> परमभट्टारकमहाराजा-  
धिराज-
- 5 परमेश्वरपरममाहेश्वरश्रीचैलोक्यवर्मदेवपादानुध्यात् ।<sup>1</sup> परमभट्टारकमहा-
- 6 राजाधिराजपरमेश्वरपरममाहेश्वरश्रीकालंजराधिपतिमहाराजश्री(श्री)महो-
- 7 रवर्मदेवो विजयी [१\*] स एष दुवि(र्वि)षहतरप्रतापतापितसकलरिपुकुलः  
कुलवधूमिव निराकुलां वसुं-
- 8 धरां परिपालयन्नविकलविवेकनिर्मलीकृतमतिः ॥ डाङ्गीविषयान्तःप[१\*]तिटु-  
मुट्टमाग्रामोपगता-
- 9 न(न्) वा(वा)ह्मणानन्यांश्च मान्यान(न्) कुटुंबि(वि)कायस्थदूतवैद्यमेदचाण्डाल-  
पय(य)न्तान(न्) समस्तप्रजालोकान्मो(वो)ध-
- 10 यति समाजा(जा)पयति च अस्तु वः स(सं)विदितं यथोपरिलिखितोयं  
ग्रामः सजल[स्थ]ल[१\*] सस्थावरजंगमः
- 11 स्वसीमावच्छिन्न(न्नः) साधजर्डी( भृङ्ग(तभ)विथतव(द्व)र्तमाननिःसे(शे)षादाय-  
सहितः प्रतिषिद्धश्चा(चा)टादिप्रवेश(श)श्चास्माभिः श्री-
- 12 विलासपुरे संवत्(त्) १३११ आश्विनशुदि ८ सोमवारे पुण्यतीर्थोदकेन स्नात्वा  
भास्करपूजापुर(रः)सरं मातापित्रोरा-
- 13 कनः पुण्ययशोविवर्द्धये(वृद्धये) ।<sup>1</sup> व(चं)द्रेश्वरान्वये क[१\*] स्थ(स्थ)पगोत्राय  
राउतदेवषभूपपौत्राय राउतजगदेवपौत्राय राउतहरि-
- 14 पालपुत्राय सौधीसंग्रामे दभ्युहडवर्मयुडे कृतवीर्यातिस(श)ये प्रशा(सा)दे राउत-  
षभिनाम्ने शासनीक(क)त्य प्रदत्त इति मत्वा
- 15 भण्डिराज(जा)श्रव[ल\*]विधेयैर्भूत्वा भागभोगादिकं सर्व्वमस्मै<sup>2</sup> समुपनेतव्यं  
तदेवमस्य ग्रामं समंदिरप्राकारं सनि[र्ग]मप्र-
- 16 वसं(शं) [स\*]वाद्या(वाह्या)भ्यन्तरादायं भुंजानस्य वा(वा)भ्रा केनापि न  
कार्या । अत्र च । राजगजपुरुषादिभिः स्वस्वमाभाव्य(व्यं) परिहृ(हृ)-  
तव्यमि-

- 17 दं चास्मत्(द)दानमनाहार्यं चेति भाविभिरपि भूमिपालैः पालनीयं । उक्तं  
च । शंखं भद्रासनं कृत्वा वरास्त्रा(श्वा) वरवारणाः । भूमिदा-  
18 न[स्य] पुष्पाणि फलं स्वर्गः पुरंदर ।[12\*] भूमिं यः प्रतिगृह्णा(ह्ना)ति  
यच्च(च) भूमिं प्रयच्छ(च्छ)ति ।[\*] उभौ तौ पुन्य(स्थ)कर्माणौ नियतौ  
स्वर्गगामि-  
19 नौ । [11\*] समवशेक्षतिक्षीणे कीपि राजा भविष्यति ।[\*] तस्य  
दासस्य दासोहं मम की[र्त्ति]र्ण(र्त्ति) न लोपयेत्(त्) ।[8\*] सुभ(शुभं)  
भवतु ॥

D.—CHARKHARI PLATE OF HAMMIRAVARMADEVA : [VIKRAMA-]SAMVAT  
1346.

This is the first copper-plate charter of the Chandēlla king Hammiravarmadēva, whom I brought to notice, a decade ago, in my *Damoh Dipaka*, the *Hindī Gazetteer* of the Damoh district in the Central Provinces, from a *satī* record which I found in the village Bamhni of that district.<sup>1</sup> When I visited the Ajayagadh fort, I came upon another *satī* stone record<sup>2</sup> mentioning his name, which I included in the new account<sup>3</sup> of the Ajayagadh fort inscriptions revised since the visit of General Sir Alexander Cunningham as detailed in his *Survey Report*, Vol. XXI. It appears to me that the Hamirpur district of the United Provinces, in which Mahōbā, the civil capital of the Chandēllas, is included, derives its name from this Chandēlla king. Of course, this district which borders on the Charkhārī State, took its name from the town of Hamirpur, which is situated on the confluence of the Jumnā and the Betwā, 110 miles north-west of Allahābād.

The record is engraved on a copper-plate 11½" long and 8½" broad, with a raised rim ½" in height running all round the plate and secured on the latter by nails. Its weight is 48 *tolas* only. In the middle of the first four lines of writing there is a figure of the four-armed goddess *Lakshmi* holding lotuses and water pots. On the top of the figure there is a hole for a ring which was either not put in or has been taken off and lost. The plate shows signs of corroding without serious damage to letters, which are rather small, their average size being ¼". The engraving is badly executed.

The language of the record is Sanskrit, the style being in the prescribed form used by the Chandēllas; but, from what little the writer composed, it is clear that he was no Sanskritist, as he has committed many spelling as well as grammatical mistakes. The insertion of the title *Sāhi* against the names of all the kings mentioned indicates the growing Muhammadan influence, which finally ousted the Chandēllas, apparently during the reign of the grantor of this very charter. Hammiravarmadēva, who styled himself as the *Paramabhāṭṭāraka Sāhi Rāj*.

<sup>1</sup> See above, Vol. XVI, p. 10, f. n. 4.

<sup>2</sup> The record runs as follows :—

L. 1. संवत्(त्) १२६८ समये यावत्सुदि ६ बुधे

L. 2. सती बाबसुमह मेने सा सुभे श्रीमहा-

L. 3. राजश्रीहमीरवर्मादेवराज्ये सुमी मंग-

L. 4. लं करोति

<sup>3</sup> Contributed to *Mādhwā*, a Hindi Journal of Lucknow, see Vol. V, pt. 2, number 2.

*āvali-tray-ōpēta*,<sup>1</sup> Lord of Kālāñjara, meditating on the feet of the P. M. P. Sāhi Mahārāja Viravarmadēva, who meditated on the feet of the P. M. P. Sāhi Mahārāja Trailōkyavarmadēva, who meditated on the feet of the P. M. P. Sāhi Mahārāja Paramarddidēva, announced the grant of Kō(or Kī?)kaḍagrāma in the Vēdēsaitha-vishaya to two Brāhmaṇas who were apparently brothers, on Sunday, the twelfth day of the dark fortnight of Bhādrapada and the Pushya-nakshatra in the Vikrama Samvat 1346, corresponding to Sunday, the 11th September, 1289 A.D.<sup>2</sup> It will be noticed that in his own case Hammiravarmadēva has left out the grandiloquent title of the Mahārājādhirāja Paramēśvara, which he duly attached to his elders. This indicates that either he was fully conscious of his reduced position, which induced him to be content with a humbler title, or that he was never recognised as the Mahārāja while his elder brother Bhōjavarmadēva was on the throne. In the Ajayagadh fort there is a *satī* record of Samvat 1346, which refers to the reign of Bhōjavarman.<sup>3</sup> This copper-plate dated in the same year would therefore point to a usurpation of the throne, unless Bhōjavarman died in the same year before the month of Bhādrapada, when the grant under publication was made.

The document was written by Paṁ[ḍita\*] Raṁ(Rāma)pāla.

The localities mentioned in the record are not traceable.

#### TEXT.

- 1 [ओ] सिद्धिः ॥ जयत्याल्हा(द्वा)दयन्विखं विखस्वर(ख)रशिरोधृतः [।\*]  
चे(वं)द्रात्रेयनरेद्राणां वंशस्वं(खं)द्र
- 2 इवोज्ज्वल(लः) ।[।१॥\*] तर्ज(त्र) प्रवर्द्धमाने विरोधिविजयभ्राजिपु(ण्ण)जयश-  
क्तिविजयस(श)क्त्यादिरी(वी)रावे(वि)-
- 3 भ्राव(भवि)भास्वरः(रे) ।<sup>4</sup> परमभट्टार(र)कमहाराजाधिराजपरमेस्व(ख)रपर[म]-  
माहेस्वर(खर)मा(सा)हि-
- 4 महाराज[ओ]मसन(मत्पर)मर्हि[दे]वपादानुध्यात्(त) ।<sup>4</sup> परमभट्टारकमहाराजा-  
धिराज पर-
- 5 मेस्व(ख)रपरममाहेसरे(खर)साहिर(म)हाराजओमत्रैलोक्यवर्मदेवपादानुध्यात् ॥<sup>4</sup>  
परम[भ]ट्टारक[म]हारा-
- 6 जाधिराजपरतेस्व(मेस्व)रपरममाहेसरे(खर)साहिमहाराजओमदीरवर्मद(दे)वपादा-  
नुध्यात्(त) ॥<sup>4</sup> परमभट्टार-
- 7 के(क)साहिराजाप(व)लीचभो(यी)पेतकाल(लं)जरा[धिप]तिमहाराजओमह(ड)मी-  
रवर्म[देवी] विजय(यी) । स एख(ष) रु(दु)र्विषह-

<sup>1</sup>This is exactly the title used in the Bamhūi *satī* record which I misread as परमभट्टारकेजाधिराजावलीचोपेत.  
See above, Vol. XVI, p. 10, f. n. 4.

<sup>2</sup>In Bhādrapada of V.S. 1346, ba. 12 commenced on Sunday at '98 but the *nakshatra* Pushya ended on that day at '23.

<sup>3</sup>See *Mādhubi*, Vol. V, pt. 2, number 2.

<sup>4</sup>Punctuation unnecessary.

- 8 तरप्रतापतावि(पि)तप्र(स)कलरि[पु]कुल(लः) कुलधूमिव कसुन्वरां निराकुलां  
व(प)रिपलयन(स)विकलविवेकनि-
- 9 र्सी(र्ष)लोह(क्ष)तमतिता(र)जामिः ॥<sup>1</sup> वेदेसैयविषयान्त(स्तः)पातिः(ति)कोकडग्राम-  
गतान्वाङ्मणान्यांश्च(ग्रामोपगतान्वाङ्मणानन्यांश्च) मानकुटुंबि-
- 10 कायस्वनापितमहरनेदधीवरचांडालप्रजन्तान्(मानकुटुस्त्रिकायस्वनापितमहरनेदधी-  
वरचाण्डालपर्यन्तान्)वो(वो)धयति समाप्तापयति च । व(च)स्तु वः  
संविदितं यथा(यो)-
- 11 परिक्षिप्तितोयं ग्रामः सजलस्त्रल(लः) सख्याय(व)रजंगमम(जंगमः) ससीरा-  
(स्वसोमा)वक्षिण(च्छिन्नः) साधकृद्भूतभविष्यवर्त्तमा-
- 12 ना(न)नि(निः)[शिषादायसहितः\*] र(प्र)ति[षि]डचाटादिक[प्रवेशः\*] लोणागर-  
पसणरधभूरुहनिधनिषेप(लवणाकरपाषाणवनभूरुहनिधनिषेप)[सहितः\*] स-  
[वा](वा)ङ्माभ्यन्तर(रः) अपरै[रपि] व[स्तु]भिः[\*] ।
- 13 संवत(त्) १३४६ समये ॥<sup>1</sup> भार(द्र)पदप(व)दि १२ रवो ।<sup>1</sup> पुष्यनक्षत्रे ॥<sup>1</sup>  
भार्ग(रहा)जगोत्राय ।<sup>1</sup> ठ<sup>1</sup> ।<sup>1</sup> सुभराजप्रपौत्राय ठ ।<sup>2</sup> विद्या-
- 14 ध[र]प्रपौत्राय ।<sup>1</sup> ठ<sup>2</sup> ।<sup>1</sup> सठेलपुत्राय ।<sup>1</sup> पं ।<sup>1</sup> श्रीधर ।<sup>1</sup> पं ।<sup>1</sup> चामि  
(उभाभ्यां) चा(त्रा)ङ्माभ्यां को(or को)कडग्रामो . . . तोऽस्मत्सौ  
(स्नाभिः ?) विजा-
- 15 वड ? वाराणा० ? वाषालि . . संकल्पेण(न) प्रदत्त[इ]ति । इति  
मत्वा मन्य(भवद्भि)राङ्मात्रवणविधेयैर्भूत्वा भाग-
- 16 भोगादिकं समुपनेतव्यं ॥ बहु(बहु)भिर्वसुधां(धा) भुक्त्वा राजभिस्सगरादिभिः  
[1\*] यस्य यस्य यदा भूमिं(मि)त(स्तु)-
- 17 स्व तस्य तदा फलं ॥१॥ षष्टि(षष्टिं) वर्षमहपा(सहस्रा)णि स्वये(र्गे) वसति  
भूमिदः [1\*] आक्रेता(आच्छेत्ता) वानुमन्ता च तानेव (तान्येव) न-
- 18 रत्नं ब्रजेत् ॥२॥ स्वदत्तां परदत्तां वा यो हरेत्(त व)सु(सुं)धरां [1\*]  
म(स) विष्ठावा(यां) क(क्ष)मिर्भूत्वा पितृभिस्सह मज्जति ॥३॥[1\*]
- 19 भूमिं षः(यः) प्रतिगृह्णीयात्(प्रतिगृह्णाति यस्तु) भूमिं प्रयच्छति [1\*]  
उभौ तौ पुन्य(स्व)कर्माचौ नियतौ स्वयं(र्गे)गामिनौ ॥४॥[1\*] पं रौ-
- 20 पाले[न] लिखितमिति ॥

\* Punctuation unnecessary.

\* Abbreviation for Thākura or Thākura.

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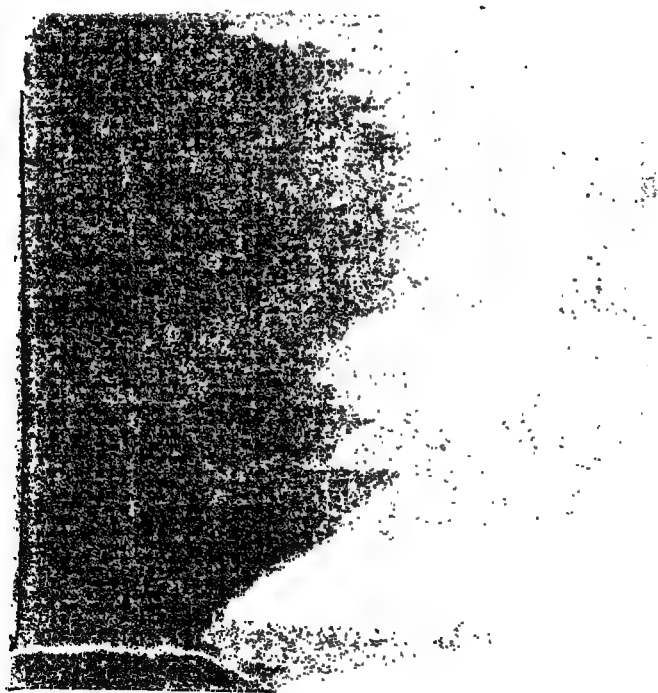




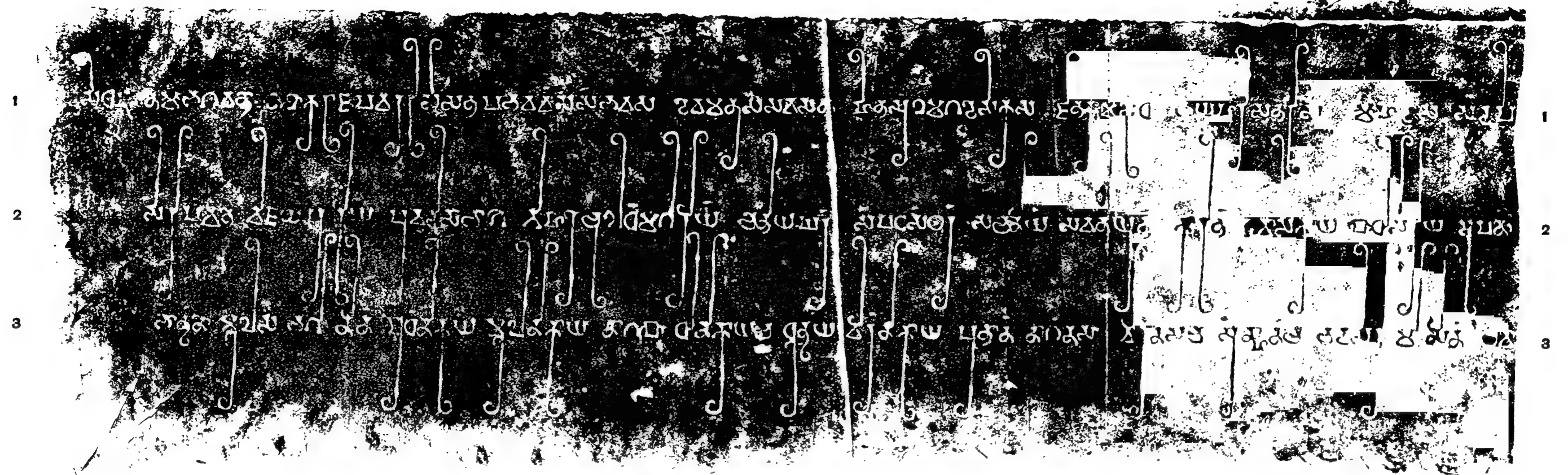




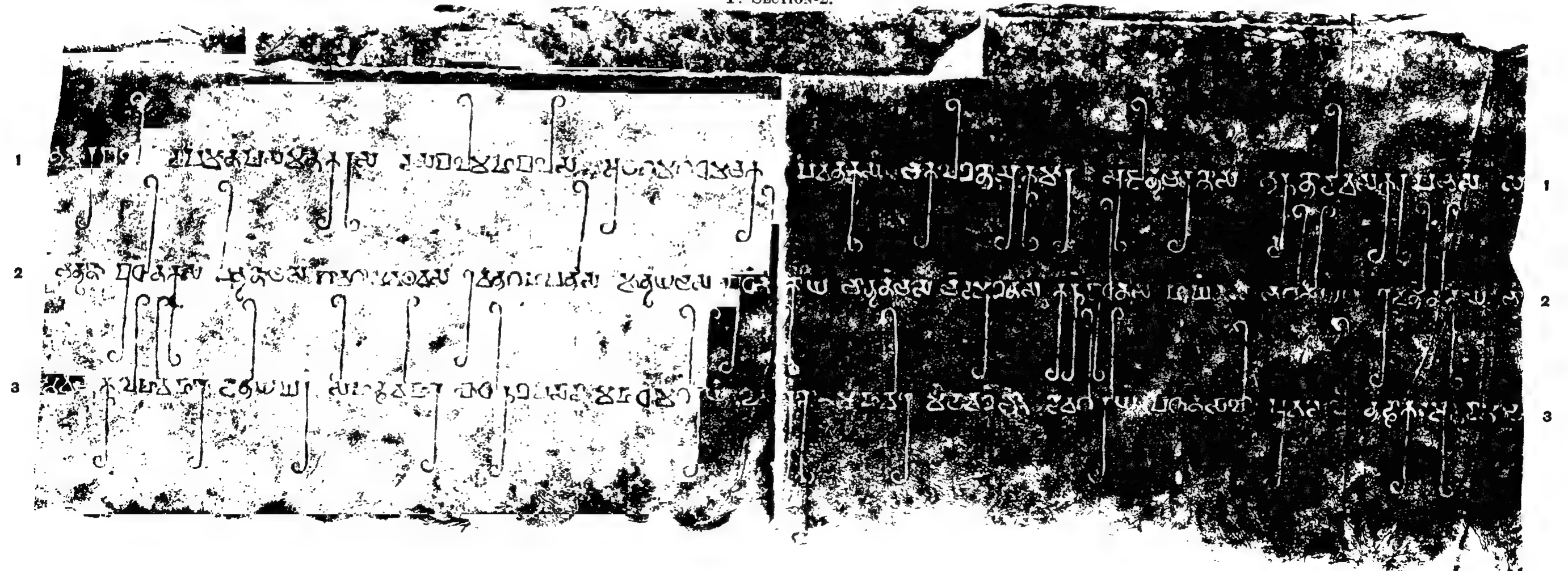




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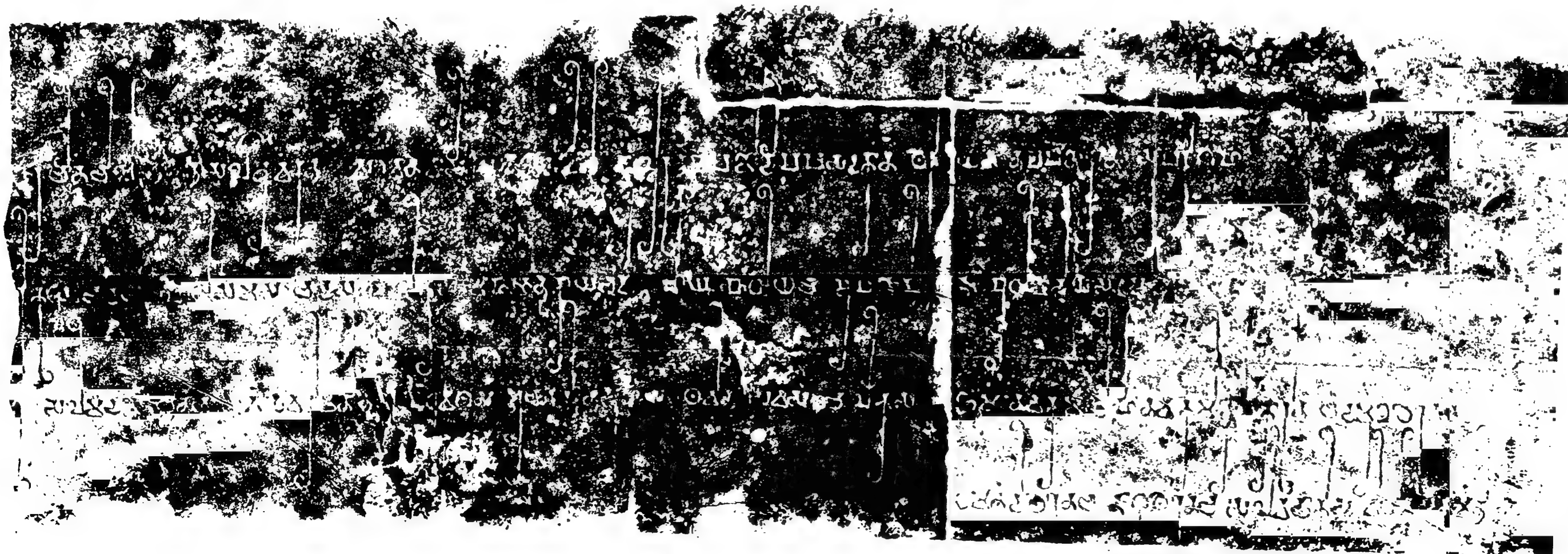




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